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SMALL BUSINESSMEN: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE EFFECTS OF RURALISM, BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE,
AND ORGANIZATIONAL ROLE ON RIGHT WING
EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY

by



DOUGLAS RUSSELL

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

FACULTY OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION AND COMMERCE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1970

ABSTRACT

There is much in the literature to suggest that small businessmen are particularly susceptible to right wing extremist political ideologies. This paper sought to examine this contention with an empirical study of small businessmen and their attitudes relating to right wing extremism. It was hypothesized that rural environment bureaucratic structure, and organizational role each had an effect on an individual's likelihood to become an advocate of a right wing extremist ideology.

Three hundred and eighty-eight pharmacists from Edmonton, Alberta and the surrounding area were interviewed. Each completed a twenty-nine item questionnaire designed to measure the extent to which they express opinions similar to those of the Extreme Right.

Analysis of the results showed a cumulative relationship between the three independent variables and score on the right wing extremism scale which provided directional support for the above literature. Further analysis revealed, however, that the relationship was dependent on sex, age, and activity in church membership. Those respondents who were either male or active church members showed no differentiation in scores on the right wing extremism scale which could be attributed to rural-urban environment, organizational role, or bureaucratic structure. For those respondents who were female or inactive church members however, neither sex nor activity in church membership appeared to be important extraneous variables and the original hypothesized relationships were strengthened to the point that they became significant, in some instances, at the .01 level.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people had a part in influencing the form and content of this study. I wish to recognize the following in particular because of the significant contributions they were kind enough to make.

Kenneth Scott made perhaps the greatest physical contribution to this study. It was he who collected the data pertaining to the urban pharmacists in the study as part of his M.B.A. thesis which will be completed in the near future. Only because of his willingness to share this data was it possible for me to make the comparisons which form an integral part of this thesis.

The Canada Council contributed financial support by providing funds for use in data collection, computer programming, and secretarial assistance. Without this aid it is unlikely that the thesis would have been completed in the time that it was.

Dr. Rodney E. Schneck, thesis supervisor and Associate Dean of the Faculty of Business Administration and Commerce was the prime influence in the development of the thesis subject on the whole. As supervisor of the thesis he maintained a very active role in directing all efforts toward the development of the final paper. His comments and criticisms were vital during the organization and preparation of the thesis and it is for these that I wish to express my appreciation.

In addition I would like to offer a sincere thank you to Mr. David Allen for his assistance in computer programming, Miss Indira Mohan and Mrs. A. Milligan for their help in typing the manuscript, and the Alberta Pharmaceutical Association for its cooperation in providing important information about the sample group.

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CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I INTRODUCTION

There have been many attempts over the past twenty years to relate small businessmen in terms of a susceptibility to support emerging right wing extremist political ideologies. Whether through the analysis of voting patterns or by the development of complex theoretical arguments, the small businessman has become linked in the literature to right wing extremist appeals.

As the embodiment of the old middle class, the small businessman is faced with pressures exerted by a changing social and economic structure. In times where their roles are being constantly challenged, any losses in position are met with alienation and discontent. It is these feelings which render the small businessman susceptible to right wing extremist ideologies.

From the literature attempting to explain the apparent relationship between small businessmen and emerging right wing extremist movements, two closely related theories have emerged. Both agree that the changing role of small businessmen is in a state of relative decline. Both suggest that in reacting to this decline in status and position (both economic and social) the small businessman (or any group in a similar situation) develops a feeling of alienation leading to a susceptibility to right wing extremist appeals. These theories are referred to as:

1. the "mass society" approach, and

2. the classical "economic" approach.

In this chapter we intend to discuss each theory briefly, to be followed later by a summary of empirical research which provides support for the hypothesis that small businessmen are susceptible to right wing extremism.

II THE MASS SOCIETY APPROACH TO ALIENATION AND RIGHT WING EXTREMISM

The "mass society"¹ approach explains the reaction of small businessmen towards right wing extremist ideologies as a response to their alienation or lack of involvement in the power structure in society. It is because of the impotency of their existing class position, caused by the breakdown in the effectiveness of the secondary groups from which they once derived satisfaction, that small businessmen may become susceptible to right wing extremism. In these situations small businessmen respond to promises of action in correcting the inadequacies of the present system in favor of a former social system which has demonstrated in the past to be more favorable to their needs. To the extent that right wing extremist movements can provide this promise of change, their attractiveness to small businessmen is increased.

Kornhauser applies this approach specifically to the small businessman

¹ See William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (New York: The Free Press, 1959); J. R. Gusfield, "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 19-30 and Daniel Bell, The Radical Right (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963) for several interpretations of the "mass society" theory.

who ... increasingly is marginal in modern society and as a result has been more susceptible to mass movements ... squeezed between the pressures of big business and big labor, the class interests of small business are inherently ambiguous, finding allies neither in the classes above nor in the classes below.²

Much of the "mass society" literature suggests a lack of attachment to any specific interest group. Of more importance in the study of small businessmen is the concept that alienation occurs, not because of a lack in secondary group affiliations, but because the economic groups to which small businessmen belong have no relevant voice in the existing power structure. Gusfield suggests that alienation occurs where conditions of change threaten a previous position of power of a particular class resulting in disenfranchised and/or defeated classes. In this situation one does not become alienated for failing to belong to a significant interest group in society, but because the group to which one is a member, though well structured and well defined, is itself an outsider and has no real influence in the existing socio-political forum. Such groups are not completely unrelated to society, however: "they function within a pluralistic framework in which their values receive short shrift."³

A societal shift away from the individual as the most important unit towards collectivities of individuals (corporations, unions, and pressure groups) has resulted in individual benefits being dependent on and derived from large corporate bureaucracies. Those

² W. Kornhauser, op. cit., p. 184.

³ J. R. Gusfield, op. cit., p. 26.

individuals who are: (1) not members of an organized interest group, or, (2) members of a politically weak group, are dispossessed and relatively powerless in a mass society. Such people are the alienated in society and may seek targets on which to take out their frustrations.

Lipset examines the small businessman in terms of the social and economic changes in a rapidly evolving society. Trends towards increased power for government, labor unions and big business have continuously eroded the social, economic, and political power of the small businessman. Right wing movements, by promising a return to the old structure, provide an opportunity for the small businessman to participate once again in the relevant political and social processes of the day.

III AN ECONOMIC APPROACH TO ALIENATION AND RIGHT WING EXTREMISM

To this point we have been discussing alienation in terms of the role of the individual or group and its relationship to the relevant power structure in society. A second school of thought stresses the relative importance of the more traditional, class-orientated, economic theory. Thus economic pressures exerted in terms of the effect of ownership of capital as opposed to management of capital may have a significant effect on how an individual reacts to right wing extremism. This suggests a difference in susceptibility between owners and managers not because of their socio-political relationships with society but because of the economic risk inherent in capital investment.

It is because small business owners are committed to their organization in the form of risk capital that their organizational role differs from that of managers, who lack such direct economic commitment. This economic commitment is affected in periods of change and becomes a cause of concern for business owners. In situations where changes threaten his economic position the business owner may actively support any forces available to him, as a defense mechanism. In situations such as this right wing extremist movements become viable alternatives in the struggle for economic security.

Managers in bureaucratic organizations have no such direct economic commitment. To the extent that the organization is successful the manager has little concern that economic conditions will affect his position. Protected from economic fluctuations by the bureaucracy under which he operates, the manager is more concerned with job security and individual growth within the framework of the organization.

Since the power of the managerial role can be tied directly to the bureaucratic organization, managers have nothing to gain by supporting right wing extremist movements which actively promote the breakdown of large, centralized bureaucracies. The bureaucratic organization has become an integral part of modern society while the small businessman is on its periphery. Because the bureaucratic organization has usurped much of the position formerly held by the small businessman, managers and owners may find themselves at opposite extremes in terms of their needs for the changes espoused by a right wing extremist ideology.

We have discussed two closely related interpretations which attempt to explain reasons for the alienation of the small businessman. However much importance we continue to attach to economic matters, we are still confronted with a wide range of behavior for which the economic interpretation seems to be inadequate or misleading. Richard Hofstadter⁴ feels that hard times mobilize economic group antagonism while cultural or status issues become dominant in periods of prosperity. Thus as Lipset⁵ points out in his discussion of status politics, in periods of economic prosperity groups become more receptive to status appeals, in maintaining their social position against social changes which may threaten it. Loss in status may occur not only in terms of an absolute decline in social position of the group in question but also in terms of a relative decline occurring when previously lower status groups claim equal status. Thus even wealthy small businessmen can be attracted to right wing extremism as a means of protecting their existing status position.

It is not our intention to prove or disprove the validity of either the mass or economic approaches. They are presented as two viable possibilities which aid in explaining why small businessmen could become attracted to a right wing extremist ideology. We suggest that both approaches have merit in particular situations and

⁴ Richard Hofstadter, "Pseudo-Conservatism Revisited," The Radical Right, ed. by Daniel Bell (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), p. 98.

⁵ Seymour M. Lipset, "The Sources of the Radical Right," ibid., p. 304.

are neither contradictory in nature nor universally applicable.

The theoretical discussion has assumed that small businessmen can be categorized into some form of general grouping. Whether (1) the selection process in becoming a small businessman, (2) the pressures and problems common to small businessmen, or (3) the roles into which small businessmen must fit exert their respective influences it does appear that some form of common ideology does exist. In the following discussion we will attempt to discuss some of the characteristics of what is often referred to in the literature as the "traditional small business ideology."

IV A TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGY OF SMALL BUSINESS

If we have accepted the premise that the small businessman may be susceptible to right wing political movements, perhaps it would be useful to examine in more detail the goals and values of this group.

The traditional liberal concept of 19th century is characterized by the notion that anyone, through hard work and thrifty saving, can eventually go into business for himself, and with luck, become wealthy. Mayer⁶ suggests that although this concept is no longer true (if it ever was true) it remains a basic tenet in the ideological make-up of the small businessman. Furthermore, he states "that a vast propaganda apparatus is employed to preserve the image of small business as the cornerstone of democracy"⁷

⁶ Kurt Mayer, "Business Enterprise: Traditional Symbol of Opportunity," British Journal of Sociology, 4, No. 2 (1953), pp. 160-180.

⁷ Ibid., p. 180

Mayer demonstrates an emerging dichotomy between small business and big business. While numerically there is no evidence of a decline in the number of small businesses or small business starts on a comparative basis, it is apparent that the majority of the business units are concentrated in the less profitable industries, allowing the prime opportunities to be exploited by a relatively small minority of giant corporations. This is significant in showing an important divergence between an elite group of large stable firms operating in profitable industries and a mass of small enterprises struggling for survival in the less productive segments of the economy.

It must also be considered that while many small business operations may appear to be as viable as in earlier years, somewhat more subtle indications of control can be observed in many instances. An overdependence on powerful suppliers or buyers can result in a situation where a small businessman becomes dependent on a larger organization, even though it appears superficially that he has an independent operation. While some writers⁸ argue that such formal or informal ties with large corporations are beneficial to small businessmen it seems doubtful that such a trade-off of management control and independence for economic dependency is consistent with the ideology of the small businessman.

There seems little doubt, however, that such trade-offs are being forced upon the small businessman, thereby reducing his control,

⁸ See A. A. Berle, The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1954); and David Lilienthal, Big Business: A New Era (1st Ed.) (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953), p. 35, as seen in Rogers and Berg, "Occupation and Ideology: The Case of the Small Businessman," Human Organization, 6, (1961), p. 105.

decision-making authority, and freedom of action.

Bunzel⁹ expands upon the concept of the ideological basis of small business as suggested above. In portraying small business as based on the values of a pre-industrial, rural society, he suggests that the small businessman is a contemporary spokesman of the "agrarian spirit", generally hostile to innovation, experimentation, minority groups, and alien philosophies and ideologies but upholding such ideals as value of ownership, direct control of local problems, independence of action, the family man of value to his local community.

Upon such an ideology has been imposed industrialization on an amazing large scale. Bunzel concludes that "perhaps the most important change upsetting his equilibrium is the unmistakable trend towards the centralization of power and control."¹⁰ This trend plus the increased emphasis on specialization in all aspects of modern life has forced the small businessman to recognize, if only through frustration and alienation, that he, as an individual in an environment of bureaucratic government, business and labor, has an ever decreasing amount of influence and control.

Despite the changes in modern society, the attitudes and ideology of small business are slow to adapt. Bunzel insists that "the agrarian spirit persists, remaining very much alive in the minds of those who still are tied to the past, uncertain of the present, and distrustful of the future. The thinking and temper of the small

⁹ John Bunzel, The American Small Businessman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 103.

businessman indicate a profound ideological attachment to values of a pre-industrial order."¹¹

In more recent years big business has been characterized by its willingness to look at society in a broader perspective than the profit maximization principle which dominated earlier characterizations of business in general. Faced with increased pressure from both government and unions, big business often suggests that it has realized its survival is tied to the longrun well being of society in general. To optimize their position big business has become more aware of broader social and cultural issues affecting longrun profitability and economic stability. Because of this awareness, big business has been able to adapt to changing conditions, an action which helps to further differentiate it from small business and the small businessman.

The separation of ownership and control is a second major development facilitating the divergence of big business from the agrarian myth still popular with small business. Thus as Bunzel states: "In the great transformation of the American economy it is no secret that the private-enterprise system, heralded in classical economic theory, has been replaced by the corporate enterprise system."¹²

In contrast to the ever increasing concern by big business for such national and international issues as unemployment, foreign

¹¹ Ibid., p. 124.

¹² Ibid., p. 141.

aid, inflation, and social security, the small businessman is unlikely to demonstrate concern for national issues unless they have some direct effect on his own business interests. Bunzel states that "for the lower status small businessman, self-interest is the lowest common denominator, and will virtually dictate a great many of his political feelings and responses."¹³ Perhaps this explains the lack of unity or solidarity of small business interests on the national scene and the inability of any one group or organization to rally support for a significant segment of the small business population. While the virtues and values of the small businessman are considered to make up the basic fibre of capitalist society, "the small businessmen are not nearly so well organized or nearly so powerful on the national scene as their numbers might suggest."¹⁴

Any variation from the classical free enterprise system, as seen by the small businessman, tends to be thought of as a drift towards Communism. Because of the continuous trend towards a centralization of the power structure, this worry becomes a major fear, possibly increasing susceptibility to radical right wing political movements promising to check the drift.

Unions present another threat to the small businessman, exemplifying the continuous trend towards collectivism as well as threatening his position as an independent, autonomous businessman, trying to usurp his traditional power of decision making as well as

¹³ Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁴ R. J. Munsen, Jr., and M. W. Cannon, The Makers of Public Policy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 44.

imposing unreasonable labor costs despite his already strained economic position.

Thus the small businessman, equipped with his nineteenth century agrarian philosophy, sees society leaning towards collectivism. Everywhere he looks he sees evidence of this in the growth of big business, rapid development of unions, and increased controls by governments. His fears are compounded by his inability to compete because of rising pressures from big business, increased costs, and technological inefficiencies. Through all this he is unable to realize that the virtues that he as a small businessman extolls, tend to be considered irrelevant and impractical in the modern makeup of society.

It is in this rapidly changing social order, one in which he is no longer able to keep pace, that the small businessman has little expression. Faced with a loss of power and social position the small businessman must initiate change or perish. Unable to change his ideology, a product of his work role and 19th century liberation, he is forced to attempt to change society to fit his ideology more closely. In making this decision the small businessman becomes susceptible to a right wing extremist ideology which promises a return to favorable conditions of the past, with restoration of former power and prestige

V REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

S. M. Lipset connected developing Fascist movements in Germany, France, and the United States to the economic and social environ-

ment of the small businessman.¹⁵ Analysis of voting patterns in Germany between 1928 and 1932 led several researchers¹⁶ to conclude that Nazi party support grew in tandem with the decline of support of the liberal bourgeois center parties -- parties who derived support primarily from the small businessman and white collar worker.

Heberle¹⁷ concluded that small property owners, both urban and rural, were the first to withdraw support from the traditional conservative parties in the eastern border districts of Germany in favor of the Nazi party. The traditional conservative parties retained the backing of upper strata conservatives.

Lipset described the ideal-typical Nazi voter in 1932 as "a middle class, self-employed Protestant who lived either on a farm or in a small community and who had previously voted for a centrist or regionalist political party strongly opposed to the power and influence of big business and big labor."¹⁸

The election of 1956 in France saw the rise of the Poujadist movement, with an ideology similar to other Fascist movements.¹⁹ Again, according to Lipset, "Poujadism appealed to the petit bourgeoisie, the artisans, merchants and peasants, inveighing against the dire effects

¹⁵ Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959).

¹⁶ See Samuel Pratt, "The Social Basis of Nazism and Communism in Urban Germany," (unpublished Masters thesis, Michigan State University: 1948); Rudolph Heberle, From Democracy to Nazism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1945), as seen in Lipset, pp. 140-147.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 143.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁹ Peter Campbell, "Le Movement Poujade," Parliamentary Affairs, 10, (1957), pp. 363-365.

of the modern industrial society on them."²⁰ Analysis of voting patterns showed Poujadism to be largely a movement of the self-employed lower middle class (small businessmen) and confirmed a popular base similar to that of Nazism in Germany, twenty-five years before.

Indications of the attraction of small businessmen and farmers to extremist right wing politics in the United States first appeared around the turn of the century. The emergence of the Populist and Progressive movements, with a basic platform denouncing big business, increased government interference, and the general societal trend towards centralization, proved accurate forerunners of the type of political program that would continuously attract the feelings of small businessmen up to the growth of McCarthyism in the 1950's. Trow²¹ showed empirically that, in every educational category, McCarthy attracted a disproportionate number of small businessmen as supporters compared to salary workers of similar education. Among those who had not been to college, the small businessmen were even more pro-McCarthy than manual workers.

Trow compared these results directly to similar findings suggesting small business support of the Nazi party in Germany in 1933.

The highest level of support for McCarthy came from social classes which on the one hand showed considerable hostility towards important elements in the social structure and on the other hand,

²⁰ Lipset, op. cit., p. 157.

²¹ Martin Trow, "Small Businessmen Political Tolerance, and Support For McCarthy," American Journal of Sociology, 64, (1958), pp. 270-281.

did not have their hostilities and discontents channeled into and through existing political and economic institutions.

Trow explained his finding that small businessmen showed a distinctly higher proportion of McCarthy supporters than did salaried men of similar education by hypothesizing that:

small businessmen in our society disproportionately tend to develop a generalized hostility toward a complex of symbols and processes bound up with industrial capitalism: the steady growth and concentration of government, labor organizations, and business enterprises; the correlative trend toward greater rationalization of production and distribution; and the men, institutions, and ideas that symbolize these secular trends of modern society. These trends and their symbols were ... McCarthy's most persuasive targets.²²

Trow grouped his sample in terms of their response to questions examining their attitudes towards trade unions and big companies. Those expressing negative attitudes towards both unions and big companies gave McCarthy higher proportions of support than any of the other groupings, irregardless of education level. Trow suggested this to be contradictory to the widespread assumptions that McCarthy received much of his mass support from the traditional right wing conservatives. Right wing conservatives have substantial power in the business community and the Republican party. He concluded that "it was precisely the political orientation which has no institutionalized place on the political scene, little representation or leadership in the major parties, which sought that voice and place through McCarthy."²³ It was the small businessmen rather than either manual

²² Ibid., p. 274.

²³ Ibid., p. 276.

workers or salaried employees who were distinctly more likely to fall into this category.

While Trow presented his evidence as support for the "mass society" explanation relating small businessmen to right wing extremism, J. L. Nelson empirically tested both the "economic" and "mass society" approaches. Nelson hypothesized that "both the ownership of capital and the lack of affiliation with bureaucratic organizations might each contribute to alienation."²⁴

Nelson sampled 704 businessmen in 28 Minnesota communities ranging in size from under 1000 to over 1,000,000 population. He developed a four celled table measuring the interrelationship between classes (the economic theory of owners vs. managers) and commitment to the economic organization (the mass-society approach comparing small business with bureaucratic affiliation). He concluded that owners were more anomic than managers but that bureaucratic affiliations had little effect on anomie.

Such findings provide little support for the mass society view that exclusion from large scale corporate bureaucracy is an important cause of alienation of small businessmen. The data suggests, rather, that alienation among small businessmen may be more a function of the ownership of capital and that perhaps more attention should be directed to an economic interpretation than that usually emphasized by mass-society theorists.

²⁴ Joel L. Nelson, "Anomie: Comparisons Between the Old and New Middle Class", American Journal of Sociology, 74, p. 186.

Nelson also showed that the higher anomie scores for owners was due largely to the higher scores of those owners in the lower income groups. He felt the similarity of scores for high income owners and managers suggested that ownership of capital per se was an insufficient criterion for anomie but that anomie was a function of depressed economic circumstances and owner status.

An examination of the differences in roles between owners and managers may be valid to explain the differences in scores. Nelson felt that owners are more committed to their present position than are managers. Mobility is severely restricted because economic survival for an owner is dependent on the continued nourishment of extensive community relations. While managers also strive for good community relations their prime motivation comes from within the framework of policy decisions in the organization.

This restriction of mobility makes the small businessman more perceptive to both social and economic change. Without the option of resisting change by moving away, his position becomes much less secure than that of the manager. Thus any change in the status quo becomes relatively more important to the economic survival of the small businessman, making him more susceptible to extremist ideologies.

A second study by Nelson²⁵ confirmed these results. He concurred with studies by Trow,²⁶ Bonjean,²⁷ and Schneck and

²⁵ J. L. Nelson, "Participation and Integration: The Case of the Small Businessman," The American Sociological Review, 33, pp. 427-438.

²⁶ Trow, op. cit.

²⁷ Charles Bonjean, "Mass, Class, and the Industrial Community," American Journal of Sociology, 72 (1966), pp. 149-162.

Nolan²⁸ in asserting that managers are much less likely to be alienated than owners. Nelson concluded that differences in alienation²⁹ could not be attributed to failures by owners to participate in on-going work organizations and therefore alienation was not a function of primary social isolation. Again he suggested that the prevalence of alienation among small businessmen is probably more a function of their marginal economic position.

Rogers and Berg³⁰ consider small businessmen somewhat differently. Both the "mass-society" and "economic" interpretations are based upon certain basic similarities among small businessmen. Rogers and Berg feel that there are many variables which affect a businessman's ideology, making it difficult to develop generalized conclusions about small businessmen as a group. More important, they suggest that one should look at the differences rather than the similarities in order to assess a particular business ideology.

They argue that there is no a priori reason for assuming that all businessmen make the same demands on the work situation in terms of motives, aspirations, skills, or interests. Furthermore the small businessman's definition of his situation may change over time.

²⁸ R. L. Nolan and R. E. Schneck, "Small Businessmen, Branch Managers, and their Relative Susceptibility to Right-wing Extremism," Canadian Journal of Political Science, II (March 1969), pp. 89-102.

²⁹ Nelson developed a hypothesized chain suggesting alienation to be a reaction to loss in class position. Once alienated, the individual becomes "susceptible to Fascist appeal."

³⁰ D. Rogers and I. E. Berg, "Occupation and Ideology: The Case of the Small Businessman," Human Organization, 6, (1961).

Secondly, they assume that not all small businessmen even in the same industry, experience the same type of relationship with a parent company, the same risks in local markets, or run their businesses in the same way. There may be fundamental differences between businessmen who are urban or rural, large or small, owners or lessees.

Although they provide no empirical detail, Rogers and Berg concluded that difference in both objective opportunities and business ideology was evident from one small businessman to the next. In particular they found differences between old line long term dealers and younger, large volume, post war dealers of white collar origin. They claim differences in attitudes and orientation toward big business, independence, risk, and competition were most evident. Old line dealers maintained an ideology closely approximating the traditional business ideology expressed earlier, especially in their determination to oppose big business controls. The newer group were typically more expansion-minded, more willing to take risks, and lacked the traditional small business creed. The prime variables determining ideology were: size of dealership, length of time in business, dealer's age, and dealer's social origin. Significant urban-rural differences were noted, suggesting that rural dealers were most typical of the traditional nineteenth century businessman.

According to Rogers and Berg, many small businessmen accommodate rather than resist pressures placed on them by changes in society, thus lessening their susceptibility to extremist alternatives, particularly in times of steady business growth. This tends to contradict Trow's results which provide perhaps the most discernable evidence linking small businessmen to the extremist ideology of Joseph

McCarthy.

C. M. Bonjean³¹ sampled 332 hourly paid workers, independent businessmen, and corporate managers on a number of socio-personality characteristics (alienation, anomia, self-esteem, self-actualization, self-estrangement, and status concern) and social participation and involvement variables. He concluded that workers and independent businessmen were more likely than managers to possess the socio-personality characteristics identified with the concept of "mass": social isolation, normlessness, anomia, low self-esteem, and general alienation.

Businessmen ranked lower than managers in most areas of social participation and involvement, and more often than not, ranked lower than workers on these measures. Bonjean felt, however, that the central tendencies of the sample seemed to fall short of isolation.

Bonjean hypothesized that the arrival of new industry to the area lowered the entrepreneurs' relative social status and their power position. He concluded that "feelings of normlessness and isolation, experiencing anomia, low self-esteem, relatively high status concern, and to some extent, social isolation may be the entrepreneurs' responses to the change in community structure."³²

³¹ Bonjean, op. cit.

³² Ibid., p. 159.

VI THE EFFECTS OF RURALISM ON THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

Despite the convenience of the dichotomous classification, the distinction between urban and rural is not a sharp one. The evolution of areas termed suburban, metropolitan and district, or urban fringe suggest that the relationship between city and country to be more gradual, possibly in some form of continuum.

Earlier we suggested that the traditional ideology of the small businessman was typical of a nineteenth century, pre-industrial, agrarian type of society. Since these are the values still associated with the predominately rural areas of the country we would expect that small businessmen in such areas will have retained this ideology to a greater degree than those in the more urban areas of the country.

Entrepreneurs who make up the bulk of the business community in small communities have experienced a slow and gradual decline in class position relative to other groups in the community. This has been caused by the breakdown of monopolistic positions in the local market. The appearance of chain stores, expansion of mailorder sales, increased nationally advertised and branded products have all exerted economic pressures on the small businessman. Businessmen respond to this economic squeeze by increasing business hours, by carrying secondary lines, and by intensive competition.

Customer relationships are closely tied to farmers as farmers do most of the buying. Because of their market position, their economic fate is directly related to that of the farmers. This mutual association forces the businessman to identify with the farmer's interests.

As the agricultural segment of the economy continues to drift towards a more subsidiary role in a highly industrialized economy, it ceases to be as independent, self-sufficient, or as isolated as previously. With this trend, a conflict in ideology becomes apparent, leading to unrest, suspicion, and alienation towards the directions the society is taking.

Bunzel suggests this by stating "the tradition and thought of pre-industrial America have persisted longer in the rural sections of the country than in the urban. Rural America ... is hostile to and distrustful of the large metropolitan areas where innovation and experimentation are the rule rather than the exception."³³

Rogers and Berg made a similar conclusion in their study of automobile dealers in both rural and urban localities. They describe the rural dealer as "among the last descendents of the traditional small town businessman of the nineteenth century ..., they are much more conservative politically in terms of their ideas about social reforms which have become institutionalized since the New Deal era."³⁴

Whyte in a study of "rate busters" in 1955³⁵ suggested that workers with rural or small town backgrounds, whose fathers had been entrepreneurs or farmers, had internalized the norms and values of

³³ Bunzel, p. 94.

³⁴ Rogers and Berg, p. 110.

³⁵ W. F. Whyte, Money and Motivation: An Analysis of Incentives in Industry (New York: Harper 1955) as seen in C. L. Hulin and M. R. Blood, "Job Enlargement, Individual Differences, and Worker Responses," Psychological Bulletin, 69, (1968), pp. 49 and 51.

the middle class to a high degree. These values (i.e. every man can become rich with hard work) are consistent with those of the small businessman but those which we have suggested are no longer completely consistent with economic conditions of a highly industrialized modern society.

Rohrer and Douglas³⁶ studied the relative amount of agrarian expression in terms of independence, fundamentalism, and moral virtues in a discussion of the movement from rural areas to the urban city. They concluded that "farm respondents who regarded migration from farm areas as undesirable were most likely to emphasize the moral virtues of farming among the agrarian themes."³⁷ As one would expect, those favoring a rural to urban move stressed the value of non-agrarian virtues such as better employment opportunities and living conditions in urban areas.

This would suggest that those considering a move from a rural area to the city do so because of economic pressures, while those remaining stay loyal to the agrarian ideology with which they were brought up. If this is true then those who remain on the farm may be more resistant to pressures of the mass society than those who have left. This residue may welcome opportunities made available to them by right wing extremist groups to express this resistance.

Rohrer and Douglas perceive a dualistic quality to modern agriculture, composed of two separate groups with different value

³⁶ W. C. Rohrer and L. H. Douglas, The Agrarian Transition in America (New York: Babbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969).

³⁷ Ibid., p. 128.

systems and ideology. They differentiate between the farmer who remains in agriculture because he considers it a profitable venture and the farmer who is in agriculture because he has no other place to go. It is this latter group to whom the modern agricultural infrastructure is irrelevant, who has little place in farm organizations and little use for agricultural colleges or government agriculture departments. It is this group that becomes frustrated and alienated. On the other hand it is the same infrastructure which constitutes a direct benefit to farmers actively seeking an opportunity in agriculture.

Rohrer and Douglas attempt to account for the persistence of rural conservatism by suggesting the aggressive support given to the agrarian tradition has forced those who felt stifled by local traditions to migrate rather than contest long standing customs, leaving a majority among those who remained to whom the traditional forms were acceptable.³⁸

Larson and Rogers³⁹ consider many of the trends apparent in the development process of rural society. While many of these trends (increased productivity, specialization, decreasing rural-urban differences, centralization of decisions, decline in primary group relationships, and increased cosmopolitan nature of social relationships) lead to major alterations in rural society, they warn of over-emphasizing such changes.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 144.

³⁹ Olaf F. Larson and E. M. Rogers, "Rural Society in Transition: The American Setting" in Our Changing Rural Society, James H. Copp, editor, (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1964), pp. 39-67.

J. L. Haer⁴⁰ attempted to measure the relationship between conservatism and ruralism. A sample of 441 adults in the state of Washington were selected, classified as to place of residence (the rural-urban continuum was divided into seven discrete categories) and presented with a conservatism-radicalism questionnaire. While failing to fully support the concept of a rural-urban continuum, the study did indicate that people in small towns (2,500 - 10,000 population) ranked higher on the conservatism-radical scale than those in either medium size towns (10,000 - 25,000 population) or larger cities (over 100,000 population).

A review of American national poll data by H. W. Beers⁴¹ indicated that rural dwellers may be more conservative than urban dwellers. Results indicated that farmers were the most reluctant of any group to favor the extension of economic action by government and were most negative in their attitudes towards labor issues. Farmers had the largest percentages favoring prohibition, wanting membership in the Communist party to be forbidden, against a national health act, against universal military training, and against Negro-White equality in rights to jobs. Beers concluded that "there are moral overtones of Puritanism, individualism, loyalty, ..., and just plain traditionalism as in the repudiation of daylight-saving time."⁴²

⁴⁰ John L. Haer, "Conservatism-Radicalism and the Rural-Urban Continuum," Rural Sociology, 17, (December 1952) pp. 343-347.

⁴¹ Howard W. Beers, "Rural-Urban Differences: Some Evidence From Public Opinion Polls," Rural Sociology, 18, (March 1953) pp. 1-11.

⁴² Ibid., p. 7.

J. D. Photiadis⁴³ examines community size in terms of conservatism, authoritarianism, and social distance. Communities examined ranged from 300 to 312,000 persons. The sample of 662 small business owners were mainly from grocery stores, gas stations, drug stores, and hardware stores. Results showed that all three aspects of the authoritarian personality were related negatively, although not strongly, to community size.

More specifically Photiadis found that "businessmen from larger towns more than those of smaller towns favor the following: unbalanced federal budget; government intervention in the steel strike and in business in general; federal aid to education; medical care for the aged; increased social security; and a strong government in general."⁴⁴ The only issue which did not differentiate businessmen from various sized towns was government intervention in union affairs.

While Photiadis confirmed that businessmen in smaller towns were more conservative than their counterparts in the cities, this relationship was curvilinear in nature. Results indicated that businessmen in towns of 5,000 to 15,000 population were more conservative than those in either larger or smaller towns, although businessmen in towns below 5,000 population were generally more conservative than those in towns with greater than 15,000 population.

⁴³ John D. Photiadis, "Community Size and Aspect of the Authoritarian Personality Among Businessmen," Rural Sociology, 32, (March 1962), pp. 70-77.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

Ladd⁴⁵ characterized the small town as lacking in political ideology, concerned only with the issues of the day, exhibiting an extreme narrowness towards the issues of public life. Although it is changing, small town businessmen have been able to avoid many of the demands of interdependence made on their metropolitan counterparts. As the pressures and problems of a new social order infringe upon the boundaries of the old era small town, it "is generating a distinctly different view of political conflict from that local elites have shared in historically."⁴⁶ Ladd is suggesting that future political battles will become more ideological in small towns, following such trends in urban areas. As the urbanization trend continues, it may be the rurally located small businessman who has not yet felt the full impact of industrialization and specialization which affected his counterparts in the city earlier in the century, who will become the more frustrated and disillusioned segment of an already powerless group.

VII CONCLUSION

The literature indicates that right wing extremist movements in the past have been attractive to a substantial segment of the small business community. It is generally agreed that a rapidly changing economic and social structure has resulted in a significant decline in the status and power of the small businessman. The viability of small business interest groups to unify to preserve the status quo

⁴⁵ Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "Hometown, U.S.A.: The Rise of Ideology," The South Atlantic Quarterly, (1968) pp. 23-39. See also E. C. Ladd, Mr., Ideology in America (New York: Cornell University Press, 1969).

⁴⁶ Ladd, p. 33.

has rendered the small businessman politically ineffective, with little expression in deciding upon the direction his society will take. The resulting powerlessness has resulted in frustration, anger and alienation.

The insistent strength of a nineteenth century ideology has made accommodation to the current trends difficult. Such action would be in direct conflict with the values and ideals upon which the small, independent business operations were originally based. Thus frustration simmers, either in token accommodation, expressed anger, or quiet discontent. In such frustrating situations, a right wing extremism should find substantial support.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I BASIC HYPOTHESES

In the following empirical analysis we hope to measure the attitudes of small businessmen in terms of their support for a right wing extremist ideology and to determine the impact of ruralism, bureaucratic structure, and organizational role on this ideology. Also, we expect to analyze the possible effects of such variables as age, education, sex, religion, ethnic and social background, length of service, and size of home community. Figure 2-1 presents a model of the intended analysis.

On the basis of the evidence presented in the literature we intend to test empirically the following hypotheses:

1. That small businessmen in a rural environment show more support for a right wing extremist ideology than do small businessmen in an urban environment.
2. That those in non-bureaucratic organizations show more support for a right wing extremist ideology than those in bureaucratic organizations.
3. That owners of small businesses show more support for a right wing extremist ideology than either managers or employees.

In essence we intend to look at the effects of three factors -- the urban/rural environment, the role of the individual in the organization (owner, manager or employee) and the bureaucratic structure of the organization.

FIGURE 2-1

MODEL OF THE INTENDED ANALYSIS

| <u>Independent Variables</u> | <u>Test Factors</u> | <u>Dependent Variable</u> |
|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Rural-Urban Environment | Age | Right-Wing Extremism |
| Owner-Manager-Employee Role | Education | |
| | Religion | |
| Bureaucratic-Non Bureaucratic Or- ganization Structure | Ethnic Origin | |
| | Social Background | |
| | Length of Service | |
| | Size of Organization (\$ sales) | |
| | Sex | |

After collection of the data we intend to break the entire sample into the following major groups:

- Group 1 Rural owners of small non-bureaucratic organizations
- Group 2 Urban owners of small non-bureaucratic organizations
- Group 3 Urban managers in bureaucratic organizations
- Group 4 Urban employees in small non-bureaucratic organizations
- Group 5 Urban employees in bureaucratic organizations.

We then intend to test the Null hypothesis #1 that: There is no significant difference between rural owners of small business and urban owners of small business in terms of their support for a right wing extremist ideology. In testing rural owners and urban owners the independent effects of role and organizational structure will be eliminated from the analysis.

We will then test Null hypothesis #2 that: There is no significant difference between urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations in terms of their support for a right wing extremist ideology. This allows independent testing of organization structure and removes the effects of community and role.

In testing for the effects of the third independent variable two hypotheses will be considered. We will test Null hypothesis #3 that: There is no significant difference between urban owners and urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations in terms of their support for a right wing extremist ideology. This will allow the measurement of differences attributed to owner-employee roles and remove the effect of both community and organization structure. Null hypothesis

#4 states: There is no significant difference between urban managers in bureaucratic organizations and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations in terms of their support for a right wing extremist ideology. This allows the measurement of differences attributed to manager-employee roles and removes the effect of community and organization structure.

Figure 2-2 summarizes the groups being examined under each of the null hypotheses. Should each of the null hypothesis be rejected because of differences between each of the groups we hope to be able to conclude that Group 1, Group 2, Group 3, Group 4, Group 5 in terms of support for a right wing extremist ideology.

FIGURE 2-2

SUMMARY OF NULL HYPOTHESES

| Null Hypothesis | Groups Involved | Variable Measured |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------------|
| #1 | Rural Owners Non-Bureaucratic Urban Owners Non-Bureaucratic | Influence of Rural-Urban Communism |
| #2 | Urban Employees Non-Bureaucratic Urban Employees Bureaucratic | Organizational Structure |
| #3 | Urban Owners Non-Bureaucratic Urban Employees Non-Bureaucratic | Owner-Employee Role |
| #4 | Urban Managers Bureaucratic Urban Employees Bureaucratic | Manager-Employee Role |

II STATISTICAL TESTS

There appears to be no firm agreement among researchers on the relative applicability of parametric and non-parametric statistical tests. Basic conditions of the parametric statistical model¹ under

¹ S. Siegel, Non-Parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), p. 19.

which a t test or an F test would become most powerful are as follows:

1. The observations must be independent.
2. The observations must be drawn from normally distributed populations.
3. These populations must have the same variance (or, in special cases, a known ratio of variance).
4. The variables must have been measured in at least an interval scale.

The issue becomes clouded in situations where these assumptions are not met. Siegal suggests that "it is difficult to estimate the extent to which a probability statement about the hypothesis in question is meaningful when that probability statement results from the unacceptable application of a test."²

A somewhat different view is expressed by Ferguson in stating that "many variables are in fact ordinal, although for statistical purposes they are, quite justifiably, commonly treated as if they were interval or ratio variables Frequently practical necessity dictates a particular procedure."³

W. A. Borg makes an even stronger case for the use of parametric statistics when the research data does not meet the underlying assumptions. He claims the general finding that "even with extreme departures from the theoretical assumptions, the results obtained are still reasonably accurate."⁴

² Ibid., p. 20

³ G. A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1959), pp. 15-16.

⁴ W. A. Borg, Educational Research: An Introduction (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1963).

In a more specific statement Cockrin, in a review of studies dealing with theoretical assumptions for analysis of variance, concludes "the consensus from these investigations is that no serious error is introduced by non-normality in the significance level of the F test or the two-tailed t test."⁵

On the basis of this discussion we have made the following decision on the type of statistical tests to be used. Because of their general availability and usage we will use the parametric tests as a basis for examination of the hypotheses, backed up where possible with available non-parametric tests.

We intend to test the significance of the null hypotheses by the statistical technique known as the analysis of variance.⁶ The analysis of variance is used to test the significance of the differences between the means of a number of different samples. The null hypothesis is formulated that the samples are drawn from populations having the same mean. If the variation is such that it cannot reasonably be attributed to sampling error, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis that the samples are not from populations having the same mean.

Actual measurement will be in the form of the F statistic. Once F is calculated, reference to an F table will yield the probability of obtaining such an F value, and tell the researcher the probability that the null hypothesis is significant.

⁵ W. G. Cockrin, "Some Consequences When the Assumptions for the Analysis of Variance are not Satisfied," Biometrics, III (1947), pp. 22-38.

⁶ See Ferguson, pp. 281-325.

Once the analysis of variance is completed it is necessary to test differences between different pairs of means. The Newman-Keuls comparison between ordered means will be used.⁷ In this manner the statistical probabilities of rejecting each null hypothesis will be calculated.

One of the problems in testing any hypothesis is the fear of contamination of the variables under examination by other extraneous variables. In order to minimize the possibilities of spurious relationships we intend to measure the effects of several other variables such as age, sex, social origin, religion, education, etc., as they relate to the dependent and independent variables.

The results of the Newman-Keuls comparison in examining the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable will provide us with a set of essentially descriptive data confirming or rejecting the original hypotheses. While we will know that the hypotheses have been accepted or rejected we will have little information regarding the reasons for the acceptance or rejection. By subjecting the data to a more systematic testing through the introduction of other variables or test factors into the analysis we will gain additional information about the original relationship.

Contingency tables will allow us to hold constant other variables which may have some effect on the relationships between the dependent and independent variables. If, after controlling for extraneous and/or intervening variables, the initial relationships under consideration remain statistically significant, then we will be able to

⁷ See B. J. Winer, Statistical Principles in Experimental Design (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1962), p. 102.

state, with greater confidence, the full nature of the relationships under examination.

The use of contingency tables will enable us to examine various inter-relationships among such variables. The Chi-Square test is a means of testing the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the actual frequencies obtained in a two-way cross tabulation table and the frequencies which might have theoretically been expected.⁸ After calculation of the chi-square value, reference to a chi-square table will yield the significance level of the null hypothesis being considered.

Results of such an analysis should confirm the extent to which any of the test factors have a significant disrupting effect on the relationships between the dependent and independent variables.

III THE SAMPLE

The sample was composed of respondents who were designated as qualified pharmacists by the Government of the Province of Alberta and were members of the Alberta Pharmaceutical Association.

The selection of a professional or semi-professional group as the sample group has important implications on the interpretations to be placed on the study. As a member of a professional group the respondent has completed a rigorous selection and training program necessary for the attainment of professional status.

Entry into professional careers is not equally easy for all potential aspirants and many vary according to social origin, family

⁸ See Ferguson, pp. 200-204.

status, family income, and sex.⁹

Students accepted into a specialized training program have expectations as to what is required from them, based largely on the stereotyped image of the discipline being entered. While learning the theories and techniques of the field, the student is also subjected, perhaps in more subtlety to a set of professional norms, which are continually reinforced throughout the training program. The end result of this socialization process is a commitment to the profession and the development of an awareness by the individual as to how he will be expected to act to secure approval of his peer group.

The nature of the work itself, after completion of the apprenticeship period, is common to all respondents. Task selection and social status are similar in both bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic organizations, whether the pharmacist is owner, manager, or employee.

A similarity in economic opportunity based on identical professional qualification and homogeneous task environments serves to hold such variables as income, social status, and education constant for all respondents.

By holding such variables as selection, training, task requirements, education, professional socialization, income, social status, and social background more or less constant, we are much more likely to be able to measure the independent effects of the organizational role, rural-urban environment, and bureaucratic structure on the individual respondents.

⁹ See D. M. More, "A Note On Occupational Origins of Health Service Personnel," American Sociological Review, 25. No. 3 (June 1960), pp. 403-404 as seen in Professionalization, ed. by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1960), p. 73.

Thus within an already differentiated economic and social group (pharmacists), internally homogeneous in terms of factors such as education, income and professional socialization, we are clearly differentiating the roles of owners, managers, and employees.

IV RESEARCH DESIGN

The hypotheses of this study were investigated using a survey research design. Personal interviews were held with each of the respondents. The specific location to test the hypotheses was the city of Edmonton, Alberta, and the surrounding rural area extending outward from Edmonton to distances up to two hundred and fifty miles. Rural towns and villages included in the survey are indicated on the map, Figure 2-3, and listed on Figure 2-4. The city of Edmonton is a relatively modern, welshy community, with one of the fastest growth rates in Canada.¹⁰ Generally speaking the rural area, with a well developed mixed farming background, buoyed by extensive oil exploration and development, must also be considered as relatively well-to-do.

Respondents in the city of Edmonton were interviewed during the period of May 1969 to August 1969. Of the total population of three hundred and ten pharmacists, two hundred and ninety-nine respondents (96.4% of the population) were interviewed. Respondents from the rural areas were interviewed in the months of May and June 1970.¹¹

¹⁰ According to the 1968 Canada Year Book published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Queen's Printer: Ottawa, 1968) the population of Edmonton in 1966 was 401,299 at a growth rate of 18.9% over the 1961-66 period. The national growth rate over the same period was 9.7%.

¹¹ Urban interviews were conducted by K. Scott as part of his M.B.A. thesis at the University of Alberta. Rural interviews were conducted by the author. Both interviewers provided the respondents with similar information about the purposes of the study.

Of the total population of one hundred and fifteen pharmacists, eight-nine respondents (77.3% of the rural population) were interviewed. In total, urban respondents represented seventy-nine percent of the total sample interviewed. The total of three hundred and eighty-eight respondents represented 91.3% of all pharmacists in the area included in the study.¹²

V OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

- (a) Rural and urban: A respondent is designated as urban if he or she is a practicing pharmacist in the city of Edmonton. Similarly, a respondent is designated as rural if he or she is a practicing pharmacist in one of the rural communities included in the sample area, as documented in Figure 2-4.
- (b) Bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic organizations: A non-bureaucratic organization is one controlled and operated by a pharmacist as owner-manager. It lacks the size, complex control mechanism and supervision systems associated with large bureaucratic organizations. It is characterized by a primary face-to-face association among all employees in the organization. The common corner drug store is most representative of the small non-bureaucratic organization.

Bureaucratic organizations included hospitals, dispensaries, drug departments in major department stores and large drug store chains. We are assuming that these organizations employ bureaucratic techniques and control devices under the direction of bureaucratic managers.

¹² From the total population, thirty-seven pharmacists were not included in the sample because of such factors as holidays, sickness and work schedules. Only three were reluctant to answer the questionnaire.

FIGURE 2-4

Rural respondents in the survey were from the following rural communities, ranging in size from under 500 population to between 10,000 and 20,000 population. The number of interviews held in each town is given.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Fort Saskatchewan (3) | Mundare (2) |
| Didsbury (1) | Lamong (1) |
| Innisfail (2) | St. Albert (1) |
| Olds (2) | Barrhead (2) |
| Carstairs (1) | Boyle (1) |
| Acme (1) | Thorhill (1) |
| Three Hills (2) | Redwater (1) |
| Ponoka (5) | Daysland (1) |
| Lacombe (3) | Tofield (1) |
| Sylvan Lake (1) | Viking (2) |
| Bentley (1) | Killam (1) |
| Rimbey (1) | Eckville (1) |
| Camrose (6) | Bashaw (1) |
| Wetaskiwin (5) | Drayton Valley (2) |
| Leduc (2) | Evansburg (1) |
| Stony Plain (3) | Breton (1) |
| Stettler (4) | Calmar (1) |
| Sherwood Park (4) | Devon (1) |
| Westlock (4) | Edson (4) |
| Vegreville (2) | Hinton (3) |
| Smoky Lake (1) | Trochu (1) |
| St. Paul (3) | Morinville (1) |
| Two Hills (1) | TOTAL (89) |

These managers are directly under the control and supervision of a higher office in a large bureaucratic system. Most often the dispensing of drugs is only a small segment of the over-all function of the organization, making the pharmacist relatively insignificant in terms of total organizational direction.

(c) Small entrepreneur: A small entrepreneur is a pharmacist who holds all the equity capital of the business (either singularly or in partnership with others) and is actively engaged in the management of the business. As owners they make all the traditional entrepreneurial decisions and are independent from outside control. Small entrepreneurs are characterized by the investment of risk capital in the organization.

(d) Manager: A manager is a pharmacist who is actively engaged in the management of the daily operations of a business but without any equity capital in the organization and without the power to make traditional entrepreneurial or policy decisions. Managers have no risk capital invested in the organization and operate under the constraints and policies set down by the bureaucratic structure.

(e) Employees: Employees are pharmacists with duties and responsibilities related only to the preparation and dispensing of drugs, for which he or she was professionally trained. The employee-pharmacist has no control over other operations of the organization, has no managerial responsibilities and is under the supervision of either a manager or manager-owner.

VI MEASURE OF RIGHT WING EXTREMISM

A considerable body of literature has accumulated on the phenomenon called, among other terms, the Far Right, the Radical Right,

the Right Wing, and the Extreme Right. Gary B. Rush¹³ surveys this literature, examining it in terms of the psychological aspects of the Extreme Right. More important, Rush sought to define the phenomenon of the Extreme Right as an ideology which could be operationalized in terms of attitudinal indicators.

In the initial stage Rush conducted a content analysis of the relevant literature to determine just what the Extreme Right advocated and what they opposed. From this some twenty-eight relatively distinct attitudes appeared manifest. A preliminary inspection of these attitudes suggested that they fell under four general headings. These headings were as follows:

1. Attitudes regarding government.
2. Attitudes regarding international relations.
3. Attitudes regarding modern social principles
4. Attitudes regarding modern social structure and operation.¹⁴

The main theme running continuously through these attitudes is a general opposition to various forms of "collectivism". Two prime targets are Communism and the underlying philosophy of contemporary liberalism which is based on the assumption that the state not only accepts responsibility for the basic well-being of its members, but also for a systematic planning aimed at providing fuller lives for all members of the state. Since a great deal of the policy of the

¹³ The following discussion is taken primarily from Gary B. Rush, "Toward A Definition of the Extreme Right," Pacific Sociological Review, 6, Fall 1963, pp. 69-73.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

present liberal government in all free Western societies is based on these principles, it is understandable that the federal government should be a primary target of the Extreme Right.

Communism is considered to be a natural extension of socialism, or socialism is merely Communism by another name. Since intellectuals and liberals are the main groups advocating socialism, it is understandable that they be labelled as Communist and treated as such.

It follows that most of the modern philosophies advocated by these liberal groups be suspect by advocates of the Extreme Right.

The Right Wing Extremist views his world in terms of a simplistic, black and white dichotomy. In his eyes an impersonal, rationalized, complex technical bureaucratic society is destroying the simple virtue of man as an individual.

Based on these observations Rush proposes that the Extreme Right be defined as follows:

The Extreme Right is a militant and millenarian political ideology, espoused by numerous Right-Wing groups and individuals, which maintains as an ideal the principle of "limited individualism"; this principle being articulated as opposition to collectivism in government, international relations, modern social principles, and modern social structure and operation.¹⁵

In a following empirical study¹⁶ Rush completed a further analysis of the attitudes favored by those of the Extreme Right. Omitting the classification "international relations" rush developed a preliminary clustering of thirty attitudinal items which appeared to be related to the three remaining hypothesized clusters of Extreme Right attitudes.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁶ Gary B. Rush, "Insert For the Expanded Version of Status Consistency and Right Wing Extremism" (unpublished research paper) Simon Fraser University.

Using a method of factor analysis, four items were eliminated because of their low correlation with other variables. For the most part, the originally hypothesized clustering of attitudes was borne out. The major exception to this was the appearance of a distinct fourth cluster of attitudes related to urban renewal. This grouping was then included in the total in the form of a fourth cluster.

The items in each cluster were as follows:

Cluster I Attitudes Regarding Urban Renewal

1. What do you feel about urban renewal?
2. The urban renewal program is one of the worst "tax and spend" enterprises yet devised by government planners.
3. The urban renewal program represents interference and regimentation by government.
4. In urban renewal programs, the federal government helps the local community.
5. Urban renewal is a much needed program for community betterment and development.
6. The urban renewal program will make the community a better place in which to live.

Cluster II Attitudes Regarding Modern Social Structure and Operation

7. What do you feel about labor unions?
8. The federal program of regional subsidies is one of the best possible solutions to a region's economic problems.
9. A municipal power system is a form of socialism.
10. If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the federal government ought to give them

the money they need.

11. The federal government ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job.
12. The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost.

Cluster III Attitudes Regarding Government

13. What do you feel about increasing taxes to provide improved city services?
14. What do you feel about annexation to the city of suburban areas?
15. What do you feel about fluoridation of the community's water supply?
16. What do you feel about spending more money on special education?
17. What do you feel about city-owned parking lots?
18. What do you feel about increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens?

Cluster IV Attitudes Regarding Modern Social Principles

19. The public schools are not teaching the fundamentals as well as they used to.
20. Nowadays children get pampered too much in the public schools.
21. There is too much emphasis on cooperation in our public schools and not enough emphasis on competition.
22. Public schools change too many children away from their parents' ideas.

23. The federal government should stay out of the question of whether white and colored children go to the same school.
24. Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or re-appointed.
25. People are frequently manipulated by politicians.
26. Most politicians in the community are probably more interested in getting known than in serving the needs of the constituents.

In our study the above items form the basis of the right wing extremism measurement. To this base were added three additional questions which had been discarded by Rush previously, and which follow below.

The question "What do you feel about public housing?" was eliminated by Rush because of a failure to cluster caused by the inability of the respondents to understand the meaning of the term "public housing". It was felt that this problem could be overcome with the interview questionnaire format being considered for this study. This question was included in Cluster II.

The item "The Government should leave things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle" was excluded because of a unique electric power situation in the original sample area. This situation was not relevant to our survey area and the item was included in Cluster II.

The final item to be included suggested that "If Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the federal government should see to it that they do. Rush felt that this item had failed to cluster because racial tensions were less evident in his

sample area than in other areas of the nation. Because of the presence of several Indian reserves in the area covered in our survey it was felt that the question should be included in the questionnaire.

To this point, it has been decided to use a twenty-nine item questionnaire, based on the analysis of G. B. Rush. Two questions arise at this time which must be considered. Rush developed his definition of the Extreme Right on information collected in the United States. Will this definition remain applicable to Canada?

The material in the literature on which Rush based much of his analysis was heavily weighted towards the writings of such scholars of the Extreme Right as S. M. Lipset, Daniel Bell, R. Hofstadter and D. Reisman. These people look at the Extreme Right in terms of western society rather than merely American society. Lipset for example, studies movements of the Extreme Right in Germany, France, Italy, and the United States. Since such theoretical writings are equally valid for Canada or the United States we feel that acceptance of the theoretical basis of the definition is justified.

Rush makes a basic assumption that the Extreme Right is essentially political in nature and suggests that it is the failure of the American federal two party system to allow the development of an institutionalized channel for extremist political expression, within the existing political framework, which accounts for much of the militancy of the Extreme Right. Certainly a similar situation exists in Canada on the federal level where the only alternative to the two middle-of-the-road political parties is the New Democratic Party which is even more leftist orientated. It is on these bases that it has been concluded that Rush's definition of right wing extremism is valid

for use in Canada.

A second question concerning the items themselves must be considered. Because the original items were prepared for administration in the United States, certain changes in wording were necessary before the scale could be administered in Canada. References to "the government in Washington" were changed to "government in Ottawa". References to "white and Negro" were changed to "white and Indian".

Each item was originally chosen to represent a relatively distinct attitude expressed by advocates of the Extreme Right. After individual inspection there was no apparent reason why any of these items would not be meaningful to a Canadian respondent. Since the theoretical base for the development of the Extreme Right is similar for Canada and the United States, then the attitudes expressed by the Extreme Right should be valid in both countries. Each item represents the operationalization of an attitude. While some items may have more or less significance to respondents in Canada, the significance of each item will vary from region to region within the boundaries of the United States. Therefore, each item has face validity for application to Canadian respondents.

Each question was to be answered on a five point Likert scale with responses ranging from Strongly Agree (Strongly Approve), Agree (Approve), Undecided, Disagree (Disapprove) to Strongly Disagree (Strongly Disapprove).

For each item the response denoting a strong right wing extremist tendency was given a value of five with a response denoting a low right wing tendency given a value of one. Undecided responses were given the neutral value of three.

Each respondent was urged to answer all questions. In a situation where indecision or reluctance to answer became apparent, for any reason, the respondent was given the neutral response.

In order to minimize the possibility of the buildup of response sets by the respondents, questions were worded so the response continuum was reversed for twelve of the twenty-nine statements. That is, twelve of the statements were worded so that a strongly agree response would indicate a favourable reaction to the right wing extremism measure, while the other seventeen statements were worded so that a strongly agree response would indicate an unfavorable reaction. A reproduction of the complete questionnaire appears in Appendix A.

The initial twenty-nine item questionnaire was administered to the sample group.

VII SELECTION OF THE FINAL SCALE

After collection of the data, each question was scored on the basis of the 5-point Likert scale. The split-half method of determining reliability of the questionnaire was used. Scores of the odd numbered items were correlated with scores on the even numbered items. The resulting coefficient, the reliability coefficient for a half test was .6379. Using the Spearman-Brown formula¹⁷

$$r_{xx} = \frac{2r_{hh}}{1+r_{hh}}$$

the reliability for the whole test is

¹⁷ See Ferguson, p. 378.

$$\frac{2 \times .6379}{1 + .6379} = .78$$

The reliability coefficient is the proportion of obtained variance that is true variance. In this instance then, 78% of the variation in the measurements is attributable to variation in true score, the remaining 22% being attributable to error. Such a reliability coefficient is about what is expected on attitude tests. G. C. Helmstadter,¹⁸ after recording reported reliabilities for well known tests reported the median and range for attitude scales to be as follows:

Low Reliability coefficient of .47

Median Reliability coefficient of .79

High Reliability coefficient of .98.

Selection of items was based on the following criteria:

1. Item analysis, by examining the correlations of each item with total score. Item analysis simply assumes that items most highly correlated with the data are most important. In the social sciences any item may be correlated to more than one variable; thus it is important to know the extent to which the item reflects the variable in question. Those showed to be more highly correlated to the variable assume greater importance than those of lower correlation. It is intended to eliminate from the final scale those items which have a low relationship with the dependent variable (total score on the right wing extremism scale) and may be correlated with other variables not under consideration.

¹⁸ G. C. Helmstadter, Principles of Psychological Measurement (Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1964), p. 85.

2. Use of the stepwise regression technique in measuring the predictive qualities of each item.
3. Subjective evaluation by researcher in certain cases only.

To start with it was decided to eliminate a question dealing with government ownership, that pertaining to city owned parking lots. It was observed that in rural areas this question became meaningless to the respondent and little thought was given to the response given.

A second question, dealing with flouridation was considered to be a poor question. It was not eliminated at this point as it was felt the almost unanimous acceptance of the statement by the respondents would lead to a low correlation of the item with total score.

In the item analysis all items were subjected to both Spearman (non-parametric) and Pearson (parametric) correlations. It became apparent that although specific correlations may vary to some degree, the relative position of all variables remained basically the same. In both correlations those items ranking highest and those ranking lowest were the same. Table 2-1 provides both Spearman and Pearson correlations of each item with total score on the scale.

Because it became apparent that two or more variables with high correlation coefficients were predicting the same thing, it was decided to do a stepwise regression in order to assess the relative predictability of each item in terms of its contribution to the total score. Step-wise regression¹⁹ is a form of multiple regression which

¹⁹For a discussion of stepwise regression see N. R. Draper and H. Smith, Applied Regression Analysis (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 171-172.

allows the researcher to study the relationship between a set of several interdependent variables and a dependent variable while taking into account the inter-relationships among the independent variables.

Step-wise regression allows the researcher to choose the single variable which is the best predictor. A second variable is then chosen which provides the best prediction in conjunction with the first variable. The process is continued in stepwise fashion, adding the best variable at each step until additional variables no longer make a significant addition to the prediction equation. Table 2-2 provides a summary of how each variable entered the stepwise regression equation.

After consideration of both the item analysis and the step-wise regression procedure a subjective decision was made by the researcher to choose those items to be included in the final scale. The ideal item would have a relatively high correlation with the total score and would account for a significant portion of the total variance. It was decided that sixteen of the twenty-eight remaining items would be retained to form the final scale, upon which the testing of the hypotheses would be carried out. These items are listed in Table 2-3 along with their correlation coefficients and position in the stepwise regression.

These sixteen items retain approximately ninety percent of the predictability of the previous twenty-nine items.

The items selected for the final scale are distributed in the four clusters as follows: three of the six items in Cluster I, five of the eight in Cluster II, two of the six in Cluster III, and six of the nine items in Cluster IV.

TABLE 2-1

SPEARMAN AND PEARSON CORRELATIONS -- EACH ITEM TO
TOTAL SCORE

| Item | Spearman Correlation | Rank | Pearson Correlation | Rank |
|------|-------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| 1 | .267 | 22 | .285 | 23 |
| 2 | .312 | 15 | .352 | 14 |
| 3 | .299 | 19 | .311 | 20 |
| 4 | .203 | 29 | .195 | 29 |
| 5 | .411 | 7 | .440 | 4 |
| 6 | .447 | 1 | .473 | 2 |
| 7 | .416 | 6 | .431 | 5 |
| 8 | .288 | 20 | .314 | 18 |
| 9 | .439 | 2 | .477 | 1 |
| 10 | .425 | 5 | .465 | 3 |
| 11 | .426 | 4 | .410 | 6 |
| 12 | .408 | 8 | .400 | 8 |
| 13 | .398 | 10 | .376 | 9 |
| 14 | .399 | 9 | .366 | 11 |
| 15 | .429 | 3 | .410 | 7 |
| 16 | .354 | 12 | .368 | 10 |
| 17 | .309 | 16 | .313 | 19 |
| 18 | .205 | 28 | .214 | 28 |
| 19 | .359 | 11 | .364 | 12 |
| 20 | .314 | 14 | .359 | 13 |
| 21 | .330 | 13 | .328 | 16 |
| 22 | .302 | 18 | .338 | 15 |
| 23 | .227 | 26 | .270 | 24 |
| 24 | .220 | 27 | .214 | 27 |
| 25 | .253 | 24 | .270 | 25 |
| 26 | .308 | 17 | .326 | 17 |
| 27 | .260 | 23 | .288 | 22 |
| 28 | .238 | 25 | .239 | 26 |
| 29 | .267 | 21 | .292 | 21 |

All correlations significant at the .001 level

TABLE 2-2

ORDER IN WHICH VARIABLES ENTERED THE REGRESSION EQUATION

| Step | Variable Entering | Total Percent Variance Accounted For |
|------|-------------------|---|
| 1 | 9 | 22.7 |
| 2 | 12 | 39.6 |
| 3 | 6 | 48.7 |
| 4 | 20 | 58.3 |
| 5 | 17 | 65.4 |
| 6 | 16 | 69.9 |
| 7 | 26 | 73.5 |
| 8 | 3 | 76.5 |
| 9 | 15 | 79.1 |
| 10 | 27 | 81.4 |
| 11 | 14 | 83.5 |
| 12 | 5 | 85.1 |
| 13 | 22 | 86.5 |
| 14 | 24 | 88.0 |
| 15 | 18 | 89.3 |
| 16 | 21 | 90.5 |
| 17 | 11 | 91.6 |
| 18 | 25 | 92.7 |
| 19 | 8 | 93.6 |
| 20 | 28 | 94.5 |
| 21 | 29 | 95.4 |
| 22 | 1 | 96.1 |
| 23 | 13 | 96.8 |
| 24 | 7 | 97.4 |
| 25 | 4 | 98.0 |
| 26 | 19 | 98.6 |
| 27 | 23 | 99.1 |
| 28 | 2 | 99.8 |
| 29 | 10 | 100.0 |

The total of these items became known as the score on the right wing extremism scale and provided the basis for the statistical analysis which followed.

TABLE 2-3
ITEMS CHOSEN FOR FINAL SCALE

| Item | Correlation With Total | Regression Position |
|------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 2 | .352 | 28* |
| 3 | .311 | 8 |
| 5 | .440 | 12 |
| 6 | .473 | 3 |
| 9 | .477 | 1 |
| 11 | .410 | 17 |
| 12 | .400 | 2 |
| 14 | .366 | 11 |
| 15 | .410 | 9 |
| 16 | .368 | 6 |
| 17 | .313 | 5 |
| 20 | .359 | 4 |
| 21 | .328 | 16 |
| 22 | .338 | 13 |
| 26 | .326 | 7 |
| 27 | .288 | 10 |

*Although Item 2 was ranked low in the regression analysis it was included in the final scale to ensure adequate representation from Cluster III. Items 18 and 24 were not included in the final scale although they ranked 14 and 15 in the regression analysis because the clusters to which they belong, Clusters II and IV were well represented by other variables.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

I EMPIRICAL RESULTS

The data was separated into the five basic groups outlined in Chapter Two.¹ This led to an analysis to determine if rural owners would display evidence of greater support for a right wing extremist ideology than would urban owners. Similarly it was hypothesized that urban owners would be closer to a right wing extremist ideology than urban managers, who in turn would be closer to a right wing extremist ideology than would urban employees. Urban employees working in non-bureaucratic organizations would be closer to the extremist ideology than those working in bureaucratic organizations. Results of the analysis of these hypotheses are detailed in Table 3-1, Table 3-2 and Table 3-3. Table 3-1 presents a breakdown of the five groups under consideration in terms of their mean scores and standard deviations on the right wing extremism scale. Table 3-2 summarizes the

¹ The total sample was comprised of 388 respondents. In the separation of the data into the five basic groups only 367 respondents were classified, as twenty-one of the respondents did not fall into any of the five categories (see Table 3-1). The contingency tables which follow were developed on the following basis. All tables which refer to the five basic groups are based on 367 responses. This includes all tables in this chapter except Tables 3-4, 3-7, and 3-11. All tables relating the various test factors to score on the right wing extremism scale are based on the full sample of 388 responses. In Chapter Four, all tables except Tables 4-2, 4-4, 4-6, 4-17 and 4-19 refer to the full sample of 388 respondents. There was little difference noted between tables involving 367 respondents and those involving 388 respondents.

the results of the analysis of variance carried out among the five groups. Table 3-1 indicates that the five groups attained scores on the right wing extremist scales that would support the theory developed from the literature and embodied in the hypotheses under consideration. As hypothesized, rural owners scored the highest on the right wing extremist scale while urban employees working in large bureaucratic organizations scored the lowest. All other groups, if ranked according to mean score on the right wing extremist scale, would fall into the relative position suggested for that group, upon examination of the literature. Thus, it is apparent that the theory upon which the hypotheses were based has been backed up by the empirical evidence, in terms of direction at least.

TABLE 3-1
MULTIPLE COMPARISON OF MEANS

| Group | N | Mean | Standard Deviation |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|-------|--------------------|
| Rural Owners | 71 | 42.24 | 5.34 |
| Urban Owners | 77 | 42.01 | 6.79 |
| Urban Managers | 58 | 41.16 | 7.99 |
| Urban Employees (Non-bureaucratic) | 96 | 40.66 | 6.99 |
| Urban Employees (Bureaucratic) | <u>65</u> | 39.12 | 7.07 |
| Total | 367 | | |

Table 3-2 provides a statistical measurement of the relationship among the five groups through the one way analysis of variance. The analysis of variance is used to test the significance of the

differences between the means of a number of different samples. In Table 3-2 an F ratio of 2.20 has been calculated. This ratio allows for the rejection of the null hypothesis that there is no difference among any of the means at the .059 level of significance. It does not provide information as to the relationships between various pairs of means (as between rural owners and urban owners) and therefore does not allow us to comment on the initial null hypotheses which were developed in Chapter Two.

A Newman-Keuls test has been applied against the data, the results of which are documented in Table 3-3. This test allows for the testing of differences between all pairs of means following a significant overall F ratio. In Table 3-3 the differences between means are summarized in the matrix. Critical values at the .05 significance level are listed at the bottom of the table.

From Table 3-3 it appears that ruralism has had little effect on the scores on the right wing extremism scores. While rural owners did score higher on the right wing extremism scale than did urban owners, as hypothesized, the differences were not large enough to be statistically significant.

Similarly differences between groups, in terms of organizational role (owner role, or employee role) after eliminating the effects of community and structure, are not large enough to be statistically significant. This is illustrated in looking at urban owners and urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations. Both groups work in urban, non-bureaucratic organizations. Urban owners did score higher on the right wing extremism scale than did employees, as hypothesized, but the differences are not statistically significant.

TABLE 3-2
RESULTS OF ONE WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
AMONG THE FIVE GROUPS

| Source | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | Degrees of Freedom | F Ratio |
|--------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|---------|
| Groups | 0.428625 | 107.16 | 4 | 2.29 |
| Error | 0.169743 | 46.89 | 362 | |

P = .059

TABLE 3-3
NEWMAN KEULS COMPARISON BETWEEN ORDERED MEANS

| Group | Means | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|----------------------------------|--------|--------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | | 42.239 | 42.013 | 41.155 | 40.656 | 39.123 |
| Urban Employees Bureaucratic | 39.123 | 3.116 | 2.890 | 2.032 | 1.553 | -- |
| Urban Employees Non-Bureaucratic | 40.656 | 1.583 | 1.357 | 0.499 | -- | -- |
| Urban Managers | 41.155 | 1.084 | 0.858 | -- | -- | -- |
| Urban Owners | 42.013 | 0.226 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Rural Owners | 42.239 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | R | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Critical Value at .05 Level | | 3.86 | 3.63 | 3.31 | 2.77 | -- |

Differences were also noted between employees in bureaucratic organizations and employees in non-bureaucratic organizations, eliminating the effect of community and role. Once again differences were not statistically significant, using the Newman-Keuls test.

We have measured the independent effects of three variables; rural and urban environment, bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic organizational structure, and owner and employee roles² within the organization, in an attempt to determine if any of the three have significant effects on an individual in terms of susceptibility to a right wing extremist ideology. More specifically we have hypothesized that:

- (1) rural businessmen will exhibit greater right wing tendencies than urban businessmen;
- (2) owners will exhibit greater right wing tendencies than managers, and managers more than employees; and
- (3) those in non-bureaucratic organizations will exhibit greater right wing tendencies than those in bureaucratic organizations.

In each instance differences do occur in the directions which were hypothesized, although not of substantial magnitude to be statistically significant.

While there is no significant difference between rural owners and urban owners, the difference increases in significance when rural owners and urban managers are tested. This difference grows when rural owners and urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations are considered. This continuous divergence is completed

² Because we were not able to sample managers in non-bureaucratic organizations it became impossible to measure empirically the differences between owner role and manager role and still eliminate the effects of organizational structure.

when rural owners and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations are tested. In this analysis differences fall just short of the critical value required to reject the null hypothesis at the .05 level and allow acceptance of the alternate hypothesis that there is a significant difference between rural owners and urban employees working in bureaucratic organizations, in terms of their acceptance of a right wing extremist ideology.

Examination of the relationships among urban owners and the remainder of the urban groups effectively removes the effect of the rural variable but does not destroy the apparent relationship. Differences between urban owners and urban managers are small. These differences again grow when urban owners and urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations are tested. The divergence is completed with the testing of urban owners and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations. These differences fall short of statistical significance at the .05 level and do not allow acceptance of the alternate hypothesis that there is a significant difference between urban owners and urban employees in a bureaucratic organization in terms of their attitudes towards an extremist right wing ideology.

The differences remain consistent upon the examination of urban managers and urban employees. Of the three remaining groups, urban managers show the greatest leanings toward a right wing extremist ideology. Urban employees in bureaucratic organizations show the least. Urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations scored between these two groups. While differences among the groups are not of high statistical significance, the directional characteristic of the original hypothesis is maintained.

From these tests it appears that differences do occur in the directions which were hypothesized. When any one of the three independent variables is considered (the other two being held constant) the differences do not appear to be great enough to be statistically significant. There does appear however to be some degree of conjoint influence among all three of the independent variables producing a cumulative impact on the dependent variable.

When all three of the independent variables are considered (as between rural owners and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations) differences fall just short of the .05 significance level.

When only two of these factors are involved (as between rural owners and urban employees in non-bureaucratic organizations or between urban owners and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations) the level of statistical significance drops. When only one of the three variables is involved (as between rural owners and urban owners), the differences provide directional support only. It appears then, the relationship between rural owners and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations is a result of cumulative differences between rural and urban environment, owner and employee role, and bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic organizations.

To this point we have been able to conclude that there are differences between the groups, in the direction hypothesized. We still are not sure, however, that these directional differences are a result of the three independent variables. Only a check for extraneous variables will ensure that the results to this point are not spurious. It becomes extremely important to examine other variables to determine if they had any effect on the above relationships.

For this purpose, contingency tables were prepared comparing the relationships of such variables as age, education, social background, ethnic origin, size of home community, sex, marital status, gross sales, size of town in which outlet was located, and the number of competitive outlets in the town with score on the right wing extremism scale. From this analysis three variables; age, sex and activity in church membership were related to right wing extremism and were distributed differentially among the five groups. All other variables³ appeared to have little type of linear relationship with score on the right wing extremism scale or were distributed equally among the five groups. Thus they were not considered to be important test factors and will be discussed in the next chapter.

The respondent's age seemed to be related to right wing extremism in a positive manner as is indicated in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4 indicates at the .06 level that those who were older tended to fall into the upper quartiles, while younger respondents were more likely to fall into the lower quartiles. From this table it is evident that age may have had an important effect on score on the right wing extremism scale. This relationship will have a disruptive effect on the primary relationships between the independent and dependent variables only if the age distribution within

³ Although education was thought to be held relatively constant by the selection of a professional group as the sample group, small variations in education were found to be significant in terms of relationship with score on the right wing extremist scale. All pharmacists have either a B.Sc. university degree (or equivalent) or a two-year pharmacy diploma. Since the diploma program is no longer operative and has not been available to prospective pharmacists since 1948 those with such diplomas fall into the older age groups. It has already been shown that older people tend to score high on the extremist scale, indicating that education as a factor influencing score is highly contaminated with the age variable.

any of the five groups is disproportionately slanted toward either the younger or older age groups. Table 3-5 provides a breakdown of the five groups on the basis of age.

TABLE 3-4
RELATING AGE TO SCORE ON THE RIGHT WING
EXTREMISM SCALE⁴ (percentages)

| Score | Age | 21-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-80 |
|----------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Quartile | | | | | | |
| Lower | | 28.0 (42) | 26.7 (27) | 22.7 (17) | 10.2 (5) | 7.7 (1) |
| Second | | 28.7 (43) | 25.7 (26) | 20.0 (15) | 20.4 (10) | 7.7 (1) |
| Third | | 24.0 (36) | 23.8 (24) | 25.3 (19) | 38.8 (19) | 46.2 (6) |
| Upper | | 19.3 (29) | 23.8 (24) | 32.0 (24) | 30.6 (15) | 38.5 (5) |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Total | | 100 (150) | 100 (101) | 100 (75) | 100 (49) | 100 (13) |

CHI SQUARE = 20.64 with 12 degrees of freedom
significant at the .06 level

From Table 3-5 a clear dichotomy emerges with the two owner groups being over-represented by older employees and the three remaining groups having much greater proportions of younger employees, particularly in the 21-29 year age group.

On the basis of Tables 3-4 and 3-5 it was decided that age most definitely may have had some influence on the primary hypotheses and therefore must be controlled. This was done in Table 3-6 which shows mean scores on the right wing extremism scale for each of the five major groups, for each of the age groups under consideration.

4 In this table and all tables that follow which make comparisons based on right wing extremist score, the term upper quartile refers to those who scored in the upper 25% on the right wing extremism scale.

TABLE 3-5

BREAKDOWN OF THE MAJOR GROUPS BY AGE (percentages)

| Age | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 21-29 | 11.3 (8) | 5.2 (4) | 41.4 (24) | 56.3 (54) | 76.9 (50) |
| 30-39 | 32.4 (23) | 31.2 (24) | 24.1 (14) | 26.0 (25) | 12.3 (8) |
| 40-49 | 31.0 (22) | 36.4 (28) | 19.0 (11) | 11.5 (11) | 3.1 (2) |
| 50-59 | 21.1 (15) | 20.8 (16) | 12.1 (7) | 5.2 (5) | 6.2 (4) |
| 60-80 | 4.2 (3) | 6.5 (5) | 3.4 (2) | 1.0 (1) | 1.5 (1) |
| Total | 100.0 (71) | 100.0 (77) | 100.0 (58) | 100.0 (96) | 100.0 (65) |

Chi-Square 122.3 with 16 degrees of freedom
Significant at .0001 level

Examination of Table 3-6 indicates that no clear effect can be attributed to age. While the original relationships among the five groups are not maintained for every age group, there is no single trend common throughout which can be credited to age as an extraneous variable. In the 21-29 age group a large difference between urban owners and urban employees in bureaucratic organizations is apparent. Such a difference would suggest that age is a variable that has little effect on the original relationships between the dependent and independent variables.

The 30-39 year age group is characterized by an extremely high score on the right wing extremism scale by urban employees in bureaucratic organizations. This results in a difference between employees in bureaucratic organizations and employees in non-bureaucratic organizations in the opposite direction to what was originally hypothesized. This finding would lead us to believe that age has a significant effect as an extraneous variable in the relationships under study.

TABLE 3-6

SCORES ON THE RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE FOR EACH
OF THE FIVE MAJOR GROUPS: CONTROLLING FOR AGE

| | Age Group | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mean | 21-29 | 40.625 | 44.750 | 41.042 | 40.463 | 38.020 |
| S.D. | | 4.69 | 11.38 | 8.29 | 6.16 | 6.39 |
| N | | 8 | 4 | 24 | 54 | 50 |
| Mean | 30-39 | 41.217 | 40.167 | 41.000 | 38.077 | 44.750 |
| S.D. | | 6.16 | 6.43 | 8.29 | 7.46 | 8.03 |
| N | | 23 | 24 | 14 | 25 | 8 |
| Mean | 40-49 | 42.773 | 41.821 | 42.909 | 45.000 | 38.000 |
| S.D. | | 5.67 | 7.31 | 8.81 | 7.66 | 2.83 |
| N | | 22 | 28 | 11 | 11 | 2 |
| Mean | 50-59 | 42.733 | 44.000 | 38.857 | 46.800 | 41.500 |
| S.D. | | 5.67 | 5.11 | 7.22 | 6.06 | 11.39 |
| N | | 15 | 16 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Mean | 60-80 | 48.000 | 43.400 | 42.000 | 44.000 | 42.000 |
| S.D. | | 5.29 | 6.07 | -- | -- | -- |
| N | | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 |

There is little difference between any of the groups in the 40-49 year age group in terms of score on the right wing extremism scale, thus suggesting once again that age is an important extraneous variable.

It is difficult to see any clear pattern evolving because of the influence of age. In some situations the original hypotheses are reinforced and even strengthened. In others the original relationships are broken down. Because the relationship between age and score on the right wing extremism scale was significant only at the .06 level (Table 3-4) and because no clear relationships evolved with the control of age we cannot say that age, in itself, has any direct influence on

the relationship between the dependent and independent variables.

Upon examination of sex as a possible test factor it became clear that a strong relationship between sex and score on the right wing extremism scale existed, as shown in Table 3-7.

TABLE 3-7
RELATING SEX TO SCORE ON THE RIGHT WING
EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Male | | Female | |
|-----------------|------|-------|--------|-------|
| Lower Quartile | 19.5 | (51) | 32.5 | (41) |
| Second Quartile | 23.3 | (61) | 27.0 | (34) |
| Third Quartile | 28.2 | (74) | 23.8 | (30) |
| Upper Quartile | 29.0 | (76) | 16.7 | (21) |
| Total | 100 | (262) | 100 | (126) |

Chi-square = 12.41 with 3 degrees of freedom
Significant at .01 level

It becomes apparent from Table 3-7 that males are much more likely to score high on the right wing extremism scale than are females. Following the same pattern used in the examination of age, the five groups were broken down in terms of the sex variable, as shown in Table 3-8.

Table 3-8 reveals an extremely significant relationship between the variable sex and the five major groups. Great variations in the relative distribution according to sex is evident, particularly between the owner groups and the employee groups. Since a much greater percentage of employees are female and female employees are typically less likely to exhibit a high right wing extremist ideology (see Table 3-7), then this may account for much of the differences observed between the five groups which were measured in the original Newman-Keuls test.

TABLE 3-8

BREAKDOWN OF THE MAJOR GROUPS BY SEX (percentages)

| Sex | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|--------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Male | 91.5 (65) | 94.8 (73) | 75.9 (44) | 54.2 (52) | 26.2 (17) |
| Female | 8.5 (6) | 5.2 (4) | 24.1 (14) | 45.8 (44) | 73.8 (48) |
| Total | 100.0 (71) | 100.0 (77) | 100.0 (58) | 100.0 (96) | 100.0 (65) |

Chi-Square 106.59 with 4 degrees of freedom

Significant at .0001 level

In order to measure the effect of sex as a test factor the five groups were broken down on the basis of sex and the differences between the groups were re-calculated holding sex constant. Results of this analysis are documented in Table 3-9.

An interesting situation is apparent in considering Table 3-9. When considering male respondents only, the relationships built up earlier between the independent variables and the dependent variables are broken down. There are no appreciable differences between any of the five groups in terms of score on the right wing extremism scale if male respondents only are measured (see Table 3-9). This indicates that any differences established earlier can be attributed to differing sex ratios among the five groups. Males showed little differences on the right wing extremism scale which could be attributed to either rural-urban environment, bureaucratic-non bureaucratic organization or owner-manager-employee role.

Any differences found earlier (Table 3-3) can be attributed to scores by female respondents. In direct contrast to their male counterparts, female respondents had scores on the right wing

extremist scale which reinforced the basic hypothese concerning the dependent and independent variables. When females are considered the effect of the independent variables remain. Table 3-10 was prepared to indicate significant differences between the five groups when female respondents only are considered.

TABLE 3-9
SCORES ON THE RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE FOR EACH OF THE
FIVE MAJOR GROUPS: CONTROLLING FOR SEX

| Statis- tic | Sex | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|----------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mean | M only | 42.06 | 42.03 | 41.23 | 41.98 | 43.44 |
| S.D. | | 5.38 | 6.77 | 8.06 | 8.09 | 8.53 |
| N | | 65 | 73 | 44 | 52 | 16 |
| Mean | F only | 44.17 | 41.75 | 40.93 | 39.09 | 37.02 |
| S.D. | | 4.88 | 8.22 | 8.06 | 5.07 | 8.03 |
| N | | 6 | 4 | 14 | 44 | 49 |

When we compare the results of Table 3-10 where sex is controlled with the results of the original Table 3-3 where sex is not controlled it is interesting to note that although the same basic relationships between the five groups remain, some are strengthened by controlling for sex.

For example, in Table 3-3 there are no significant differences between any of the five groups at the .05 significance level. In Table 3-10 the following differences are noted:

- (1) There is a significant difference at the .01 level between rural owners and urban employees (bureaucratic). This difference can be attributed to the cumulative effects of the

three independent variables; rural-urban environment, organization role, and bureaucratic structure.

- (2) There is a significant difference at the .01 level between rural owners and urban employees (non-bureaucratic). This difference can be attributed to the combined effects of rural-urban environment and owner-employee role. The effect of bureaucratic structure has been removed from the analysis.
- (3) There is a significant difference at the .01 level between urban owners and urban employees (bureaucratic). As the rural variable has been removed from the analysis, this difference can be attributed to the cumulative effects of owner-employee role and bureaucratic-non bureaucratic structure.
- (4) There is a significant difference at the .05 level between urban managers and urban employees (bureaucratic). This difference is a result of differences between manager and employee role. The effects of rural-urban environment and bureaucratic structure have been removed from the analysis.

We must concede the importance of sex as an extraneous variable which has a significant effect on the original measurement of differences among the five groups. It is important to note that the original relationships are strengthened for female respondents. For

TABLE 3-10

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON BETWEEN ORDERED MEANS:

FEMALE RESPONDENTS ONLY

| Group | Means | Rural Owners 44.167 | Urban Owners 41.750 | Urban Managers 40.929 | Urban Employees (N-B) 39.091 | Urban Employees (B) 37.020 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Urban Employees Bureaucratic | 37.020 | 7.146 | 4.730 | 3.908 | 2.070 | -- |
| Urban Employees N-Bureaucratic | 39.091 | 5.076 | 2.659 | 1.838 | -- | -- |
| Urban Managers | 40.929 | 3.238 | 0.821 | -- | -- | -- |
| Urban Owners | 41.750 | 2.417 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Rural Owners | 44.167 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | R = | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | Critical Value at .05 Level | 3.92 | 3.69 | 3.36 | 2.80 | -- |
| | Critical Value at .01 Level | 4.71 | 4.50 | 4.20 | 3.70 | -- |

female respondents the three independent variables appear to be an important influence on score on the right wing extremism scale. For male respondents they are not.

A third variable which seemed likely to have had an effect on the original relationship was activity in church membership. Respondents were asked simply: "Would you consider yourself an active church member?" and were to respond either yes or no. Table 3-11 indicates the relationship between the response to this question and score on the right wing extremism scale. Thirty-two percent of those who claimed to be active church members fall into the upper quartile of scores on the right wing extremism scales. Only twenty percent of the non-active church members fell into this category. This relationship, measured by chi-square and summarized in Table 3-11 was significant at the .05 level.

An even more significant relationship is shown in Table 3-12 where the same variable is broken down by the five groups.

Almost sixty percent of rural owners consider themselves active church members. Only forty percent of the urban owners and twenty-five percent of the urban employees consider themselves as active church members.

Since a definite relationship between church membership, score on the right wing extremism scale, and the five groups appears to exist, Table 3-13 was prepared to control for this variable.

Again we have a situation similar to that encountered with the consideration of the variable sex. There is no significant differences among any of the five groups when we consider only those respondents who considered themselves to be active church members. In

their situation the original relationship between the independent variables and right wing extremism does not exist.

TABLE 3-11

ANALYSIS OF ACTIVITY IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP (percentages)

| Score (quartile) | No Answer | Yes Active | No Not Active |
|------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| Lower Quartile | 50.0 (5) | 18.1 (26) | 26.1 (61) |
| Second Quartile | 10.0 (1) | 25.0 (36) | 24.8 (58) |
| Third Quartile | 30.0 (3) | 24.3 (35) | 28.2 (66) |
| Upper Quartile | 10.0 (1) | 32.6 (47) | 20.9 (49) |
| Totals | 100.0 (10) | 100.0 (144) | 100.0 (234) |

Chi-Square = 12.63 with 6 degrees of freedom

Significant at .05 level

TABLE 3-12

ANALYSIS OF ACTIVITY OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP (percentages)

| | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| No Answer | 0 | 3.9 (3) | 0 | 6.3 (6) | 1.5 (1) |
| Yes Active | 59.2 (42) | 41.6 (32) | 32.8 (19) | 26.0 (25) | 24.6 (16) |
| No Not Active | 40.8 (29) | 54.5 (42) | 67.2 (39) | 67.7 (65) | 73.8 (48) |
| Totals | 100.0 (71) | 100.0 (77) | 100.0 (58) | 100.0 (96) | 100.0 (65) |

On the other hand, the original relationships do exist when we consider those respondents who consider themselves to be inactive church members. This is shown in Table 3-14 which replicates Table 3-3 except that activity in church membership is controlled.

After comparing Table 3-14 with Table 3-3 the importance of activity (or inactivity) in church membership can be seen. We have shown in Table 3-3 that there are no significant differences between any of the five groups at the .05 level. When we look at only those respondents who claimed to be inactive church members the following significant relationships emerge.

- (1) There is a significant difference at the .01 level between rural owners and urban employees (bureaucratic) attributed to the cumulative effects of the three independent variables.
- (2) There is a significant difference at the .05 level between urban owners and urban employees (bureaucratic) which can be attributed to the cumulative effects of owner-employee role and bureaucratic structure.

Such differences suggest that the independent variables have an important influence on score on the right wing extremism scale for inactive church members.

TABLE 3-13
SCORES ON THE RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE FOR
EACH OF THE FIVE MAJOR GROUPS CONTROLLING FOR
ACTIVITY IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

| | | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (Ent.) | Urban Employees (B) |
|------|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mean | Active | 41.667 | 42.188 | 43.895 | 42.000 | 42.750 |
| S.D. | Church | 5.11 | 7.32 | 7.64 | 6.70 | 7.82 |
| N | Members | 42 | 32 | 19 | 25 | 16 |
| Mean | Inactive | 43.069 | 41.929 | 39.821 | 40.661 | 38.042 |
| S.D. | Church | 5.62 | 6.66 | 7.90 | 7.08 | 6.48 |
| N | Members | 29 | 42 | 39 | 65 | 48 |

TABLE 3-14

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON BETWEEN ORDERED MEANS:

INACTIVE CHURCH MEMBERS ONLY

| Group | Means | Rural Owners 43.069 | Urban Owners 41.929 | Urban Managers 40.662 | Urban Employees (N-B) 39.821 | Urban Employees (B) 38.042 |
|-------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Urban Employees Bureaucratic | 38.042 | 5.027 | 3.887 | 2.620 | 1.779 | -- |
| Urban Employees Non-Bureaucratic | 39.821 | 3.284 | 2.108 | 0.841 | -- | -- |
| Urban Managers | 40.662 | 2.407 | 1.267 | -- | -- | -- |
| Urban Owners | 41.929 | 1.140 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Rural Owners | 43.069 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | R | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Critical Value at .05 Level | | 3.86 | 3.63 | 3.31 | 2.77 | -- |
| Critical Value at .01 Level | | 4.60 | 4.40 | 4.12 | 3.64 | -- |

II CONCLUSION

In examining the interrelationships between the independent variables and score on the right wing extremism scale, we have not been successful in measuring significant differences between urban and rural groups holding ownership and bureaucratic structure of the organization constant. Similarly, there have been no significant differences between owners and managers holding urban environment constant. There has been no significant difference between employee groups, varying the bureaucratic structure of the organization and holding urban environment constant.

While there have been no statistically significant differences between successive paired groups, there have been differences. Differences in direction in terms of score on the right wing extremism scale have been apparent, as hypothesized in each instance. These differences in direction, while void of statistical significance when looking at successive groups along the continuum, do approach the .05 significance level when analysis of the two polar groups is carried out.

Having determined that these relationships exist, it became important to confirm that the relationships existed because of the influence of the three independent variables (community environment, organizational structure, and organization role) rather than any type of intervening variables.

Age, sex, and activity in church membership were isolated as three variables which affected score on the right wing extremism scale. It was determined that differences between groups were present which

could be attributed to the three variables.

It was found that the above differences were maintained, and strengthened with respondents who were either female or inactive church members. To these respondents the test factors sex and activity in church membership were not influencing factors.

To those respondents who were male or active church members, the above relationships were spurious. For these respondents sex and activity in church membership were important extraneous variables.

The problem of age as a test factor remains unclear. As was discussed earlier there is no apparent direct relationship between age and the independent variables expressed in terms of the dependent variable. In some situations age acts as an extraneous influence, in others as a supportive influence. On the basis of the analysis we are not able to report to what extent age is or is not an extraneous variable.

The nature of the variables (sex and activity in church membership each being a dichotomous relationship) made partial correlation analysis impractical as continuous distributions and ratio scales are necessary requirements of such analysis.

Based on these findings we cannot unilaterally reject the hypothesis that a relationship between the independent variables and right wing extremism, in the direction hypothesized does exist. While sex and activity in church membership have an important effect and do destroy the relationship in some cases, there remain a group of respondents (females and inactive church members) for whom the cumulative

effects of rural-urban environment, owner-manager-employee role, and bureaucratic-non bureaucratic organizations, do remain as important variables in influencing political ideology.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The intent of this chapter is to focus in more detail on some of the other variables which were measured during the survey. Each variable will be discussed in terms of its apparent relationship to score on the right wing extremism scale and to its distribution among the five groups under consideration. The analysis is based on contingency tables which were constructed for each of the variables considered.

(1) Membership in Coordinated Buying Groups

Rural owners showed a much greater tendency to join in a coordinated buying group¹ (such as Rexall, I.D.A., A.R.P.) than did urban owners. While ninety-one percent of all rural owners were members of such organizations, fifty-three percent of urban owners were members. There appeared to be little relationship between score on the right wing extremism scale and membership in a coordinated buying group, as is indicated in Table 4-1.

One might expect those who are members of coordinated buying groups to score lower on the right wing extremism scale because of the economic and social benefits derived from such membership. On the contrary, Table 4-1 shows that membership bears little relationship

¹ Coordinated buying groups, as the name implies, offer the pharmacist the benefits resulting from a centralized buying procedure including standardized branding and a source of new product information. In doing so they provide economic benefits and act as an integrating force between the small businessman and current trends in the business world.

to political ideology. Buying groups provide the small businessman with a prime source of contact with current merchandising techniques and new product development. Because the rural owner is more isolated than his urban counterpart, this service becomes more valuable to him. His dependence on these groups as a source of information, provided through publications and sales personnel, is increased to the extent that they become a vital prerequisite in maintaining a continuous and reliable supply of information and materials.

TABLE 4-1
RELATING BUYING GROUP MEMBERSHIP TO SCORE ON
RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Yes, Member | No, Not Member |
|---|-------------|----------------|
| Lower Quartile | 20.3 (36) | 26.5 (56) |
| Second Quartile | 26.6 (47) | 22.5 (48) |
| Third Quartile | 28.8 (51) | 25.1 (53) |
| Upper Quartile | 24.3 (43) | 25.6 (54) |
| Chi-square 2.68 with 3 degrees of freedom Significant at .45 level | | |

(2) Age, Sex, Activity in Church Membership

These three variables were discussed in detail in an earlier chapter. All three appear to be significantly related to score on the right wing extremism scale. Owners of small businesses tend to be older, male, and with a greater possibility of being active church members than either managers or employees.

(3) Father's Occupation

Table 4-2 summarizes father's occupation in terms of the five groups.

TABLE 4-2
ANALYSIS OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION²
(percentages)

| Group | Pro- fessional | White Collar | Blue Collar | Farmer | Other |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|---------|
| Rural Owners | 29.6 (21) | 22.5 (16) | 15.5 (11) | 29.6 (21) | 2.8 (2) |
| Urban Owners | 20.8 (16) | 37.7 (29) | 9.1 (7) | 29.9 (23) | 2.5 (2) |
| Urban Mgrs. | 8.6 (5) | 24.1 (14) | 32.5 (19) | 31.0 (18) | 3.8 (2) |
| Urban Emp. (N-B) | 15.6 (15) | 32.1 (31) | 25.0 (24) | 24.0 (23) | 3.2 (3) |
| Urban Emp. (B) | 18.5 (12) | 35.3 (23) | 16.9 (11) | 20.0 (13) | 9.3 (6) |
| Total | 18.8 | 30.8 | 19.7 | 26.7 | 4.0 |

Most pharmacists in the study were raised with a white collar background. Pharmacists with a farm background were also a substantial group. There appears to be a definite break between the owner groups and the employee-manager groups in the numbers of pharmacists with a father having had professional training. Most of the professionally trained fathers were pharmacists rather than doctors or lawyers, and passed the operation of their store to their sons. This presents a significant source of access for young pharmacists who become independent owners.

2 The term white collar refers to those employed as managers, officials, clerical, sales people and small proprietors. The term blue collar refers to those employed as craftsmen, foremen, operatives, service workers and laborers. The term others refers to those who were retired, dead, or did not respond to the question.

A most significant break appears evident between managers and the other groups. Only 32.7% of managers had fathers with professional or white collar backgrounds, while over fifty percent of the members of the employee and owner groups had fathers from these occupational levels.

Table 4-3 indicates that of the four groups denoting father's occupation, only those whose fathers were farmers vary to any extent with score on the right wing extremism scale. Even those within this group were inconsistent in establishing any linear relationship with the right wing extremism scale. While 33.7% fell in the highest quartile, 25% fell in the lowest quartile.

TABLE 4-3

RELATING FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SCORE ON THE
RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Pro- fessional | White Collar | Blue Collar | Farmer | Other | Total N. |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Quartile | | | | | | |
| Lower | 16.7 (12) | 26.9 (32) | 21.8 (17) | 25.0 (26) | 31.3 (5) | 92 |
| Second | 31.9 (23) | 24.3 (29) | 25.6 (20) | 19.2 (20) | 25.0 (4) | 95 |
| Third | 27.8 (20) | 30.2 (36) | 27.0 (21) | 22.1 (23) | 25.0 (4) | 104 |
| Upper | 23.6 (17) | 18.6 (22) | 25.6 (20) | 33.7 (35) | 18.7 (3) | 97 |
| Total | 100.0 (72) | 100.0(119) | 100.0 (78) | 100.0(104) | 100.0 (16) | 388 |

Chi Square 12.6 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significant at .40 level

It is difficult to establish any positive relationship between score on the right wing extremism scale and father's occupation. Those whose fathers had professional training scored heavily in the middle two quartiles indicating a very un-extreme, "middle-of-the-

road" position. Those whose fathers were farmers had the opposite tendency with almost sixty percent of the group falling into the two extreme quartiles.

(4) Federal Voting Preference

Ninety-four percent of those responding preferred either the Liberal or Conservative parties, with almost equal strength being shown for each. The Conservatives attracted greater support from the rural owners and urban managers, with the Liberals gaining support from both employee groups. Table 4-4 summarizes the results.

TABLE 4-4
ANALYSIS OF FEDERAL VOTING PREFERENCE
(percentages)

| Group | Con- servative | | Liberal | | Other | | No Pre- ference | | Totals |
|------------------|-------------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|------|--------------------|------|------------|
| Rural Owners | 47.9 | (34) | 29.6 | (21) | 0 | (3) | 22.5 | (16) | 100.0 (71) |
| Urban Owners | 32.5 | (25) | 32.5 | (25) | 3.9 | (3) | 31.2 | (24) | 100.0 (77) |
| Urban Mgrs. | 46.6 | (27) | 24.1 | (14) | 5.1 | (3) | 24.1 | (14) | 100.0 (58) |
| Urban Emp. (N-B) | 33.3 | (32) | 41.7 | (40) | 6.3 | (6) | 18.8 | (18) | 100.0 (96) |
| Urban Emp. (B) | 23.1 | (15) | 47.7 | (31) | 9.2 | (6) | 20.0 | (13) | 100.0 (65) |
| Totals | 36.2 | (133) | 35.7 | (131) | 4.9 | (18) | 23.2 | (85) | |

Table 4-5 was prepared to relate federal voting preference to score on the right wing extremism scale. The Social Credit responses were combined with Conservative responses to allow calculation of the chi-square value.

As one might expect, those parties expressing a leftist or-ientated political ideology such as the N.D.P. (and the Liberals to a lesser degree) scored relatively low on the right wing extremist scale.

Those expressing no preference were equally distributed throughout the scoring range indicating that political ideology holds little importance for this group as a whole. The Conservatives, being traditionally more right wing than the Liberal party scored relatively high on the right wing extremism scale.

TABLE 4-5
RELATING FEDERAL VOTING PREFERENCE TO SCORE ON THE
RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Con- servative | Liberal | N.D.P. | No Pre- ference |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|
| Lower Quartile | 17.0 (25) | 26.4 (37) | 54.5 (6) | 25.3 (20) |
| Second Quartile | 24.5 (36) | 25.0 (35) | 18.2 (2) | 24.1 (19) |
| Third Quartile | 28.6 (42) | 28.6 (40) | 9.1 (1) | 24.1 (19) |
| Upper Quartile | 29.9 (44) | 20.0 (28) | 18.2 (2) | 26.6 (21) |
| Totals | 100.0 (147) | 100.0 (140) | 100.0 (11) | 100.0 (79) |

Chi Square = 13.7 with 9 degrees of freedom
Significant at .15 level

(5) Provincial Voting Preference

On the provincial level support was distributed primarily among the Social Credit (30.2%), Conservative (26.4%), and Liberal (15.5%) parties. As indicated in Table 4-6 rural owners directed much of their support (62%) to the Conservative and Social Credit parties. Urban owners were the strongest supporters of the Liberal party.

Table 4-7 relates provincial voting preference to score on the right wing extremism scale. Only those who responded to the question are included in the table.

TABLE 4-6

ANALYSIS OF PROVINCIAL VOTING PREFERENCE (percentages)

| | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Conservative | 33.8 (24) | 18.2 (14) | 29.3 (17) | 27.1 (26) | 24.6 (16) |
| Liberal | 12.7 (9) | 20.8 (16) | 12.1 (7) | 15.6 (15) | 15.4 (10) |
| Social Credit | 28.2 (20) | 29.9 (23) | 34.5 (20) | 30.2 (29) | 29.2 (19) |
| N.D.P. | 0 | 1.3 (1) | 1.7 (1) | 4.2 (4) | 9.2 (6) |
| No Preference | 23.9 (17) | 24.7 (19) | 19.0 (11) | 20.8 (20) | 18.5 (12) |
| No Response | 1.4 (1) | 5.2 (4) | 3.4 (2) | 2.1 (2) | 3.1 (2) |
| Total | 100.0 (71) | 100.0 (77) | 100.0 (58) | 100.0 (96) | 100.0 (65) |

TABLE 4-7

RELATING PROVINCIAL VOTING PREFERENCE TO SCORE ON THE
RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Con- servative | Liberal | N.D.P. | Social Credit | No Pre- ference |
|--|-------------------|------------|------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Quartile | | | | | |
| Lower | 22.3 (23) | 24.6 (15) | 66.7 (8) | 17.9 (21) | 25.0 (21) |
| Second | 32.0 (33) | 19.7 (12) | 16.7 (2) | 22.2 (26) | 22.6 (19) |
| Third | 24.3 (25) | 27.9 (17) | 8.3 (1) | 29.9 (35) | 28.6 (24) |
| Upper | 21.4 (22) | 27.9 (17) | 8.3 (1) | 29.9 (35) | 23.8 (20) |
| Total | 100.0 (103) | 100.0 (61) | 100.0 (12) | 100.0 (117) | 100.0 (84) |
| Chi Square 20.0 with 12 degrees of freedom Significant at .08 level | | | | | |

Certain differences emerge comparing provincial voting preference with federal voting preference. Those supporting the provincial Conservative party are less right wing than those supporting either the provincial Liberal party or the Social Credit party. This was not

true of those supporters of the federal Conservative party. It may be hypothesized that many of those who supported the Conservatives federally many support the Social Credit party in provincial politics. Almost sixty percent of the Social Credit supporters fall into the upper two quartiles on the right wing extremism scale, a position held by supporters of the federal Conservative party. Once again supporters of the N.D.P. scored very low on the right wing extremism scale.

(6) Mobility

Questions relating to mobility were asked of rural owners only. On the basis of the data collected it appears that rural owners are a very immobile group. Of the nine rural owners who have owned a store for more than twenty-five years, seven have remained in the same town. Of the thirteen rural owners having owned a store for 15-25 years, twelve have remained in the same town. It seems conclusive that rural pharmacists, after establishing a business, remain tied to it for extended periods of time, making immobility a fact of their everyday life.

Nelson related relative lack of mobility of owners in poor economic straits to anomie and right wing extremism. He concluded that "owners are more likely to be anomic than managers because of their differential commitments to social and geographical mobility".³

(7) Size of Town Outlet Located In

There was no linear relationship between the size of town in which the outlet was located and score on the right wing extremism

³ Nelson, "Anomie: Comparisons between the Old and New Middle Class," op. cit., p. 191.

scale. As shown in Table 4-8, those living in towns with a population between 1000-1999 people and between 4000-9999 people had a greater proportion of responses in the upper quartile of the right wing extremism scale than those in towns with populations less than 1000 people, between 2000-3999 people, and between 10,000-19,000 people. Those in the city scored midway between the extreme groups.

These results, stressing the non-linearity of the relationship are consistent with those of J. D. Photiadis⁴ although the scale used as a basis for measurement and the population categories differed somewhat.

TABLE 4-8
RELATING SIZE OF TOWN IN WHICH OUTLET IS LOCATED TO
SCORE ON THE RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Town Size 0-999 | 1000- 1999 | 2000- 3999 | 4000- 9999 | 10,000- 19,999 | City |
|----------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Quartile | | | | | | |
| Lower | 5.3 (1) | 0 | 4.7 (1) | 13.8 (4) | 0 | 29.1 (86) |
| Second | 36.8 (7) | 30.8 (4) | 42.7 (9) | 27.6 (8) | 28.6 (2) | 21.7 (65) |
| Third | 42.1 (8) | 38.4 (5) | 38.5 (8) | 24.1 (7) | 57.1 (4) | 23.8 (72) |
| Upper | 15.8 (3) | 30.8 (4) | 14.1 (3) | 34.5 (10) | 14.3 (1) | 25.4 (76) |
| Total | 100.0 (19) | 100.0 (13) | 100.0 (21) | 100.0 (29) | 100.0 (7) | 100.0 (299) |

Note: The number of observations in each cell are very small making statistical significance questionable.

(8) Gross Sales

There was little relationship between gross sales and score on the right wing extremism scale as indicated in Table 4-9.

⁴ Photiadis, op. cit.

Rural owners appeared to have higher gross sales than urban owners. Forty percent of the rural owners responding to the question claimed gross sales in excess of \$150,000 annually. Only five percent of the urban owners were classified in this category (Table 4-10).

TABLE 4-9
RELATING GROSS SALES TO SCORE ON THE RIGHT WING EXTREMISM
SCALE (percentages)

| Sales | 0- 99,999 | 100,000- 149,999 | 150,000 and over |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Lower Quartile | 19.5 (16) | 23.2 (26) | 17.6 (9) |
| Second Quartile | 25.6 (21) | 16.1 (18) | 29.4 (15) |
| Third Quartile | 30.5 (25) | 32.1 (36) | 27.5 (14) |
| Upper Quartile | 24.4 (20) | 28.6 (32) | 25.5 (13) |
| Total | 100.0 (82) | 100.0 (112) | 100.0 (51) |

Chi Square 5.29 with 6 degrees of freedom
Significant at .50 level

TABLE 4-10
ANALYSIS OF GROSS SALES (percentages)

| Gross Sales | Rural Owners | Urban Owners |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 0-99,999 | 32.2 (18) | 41.4 (31) |
| 100,000-149,999 | 26.8 (15) | 53.4 (40) |
| 150,000 and over | 41.0 (23) | 5.2 (4) |
| Total | 100.0 (56) | 100.0 (75) |

Since gross sales appear to bear little relationship to right wing extremism it would appear that the economic theory of alienation discussed in Chapter One is not applicable to the sample group.

(9) Religion

Over fifty percent of the respondents were of a Protestant religious affiliation, with twenty-one percent being Catholic and nine percent Orthodox.

As indicated in Table 4-11, those of a Fundamentalist religious affiliation tended to be most extreme, followed by Catholic respondents. The Protestant majority was evenly distributed among all four quartiles, with a slight leaning towards the lower quartile. Followers of the Jewish religion and those claiming to be atheists were heavily distributed towards the lower quartile, although the number of respondents in each group were relatively small. The breakdown of religious preference relating it to score on the right wing extremism scale follows, in Table 4-11.

From Table 4-12, certain differences emerged between urban and rural respondents. There were no Fundamentalist or Jewish respondents in the rural sample although those groups accounted for almost ten percent of the urban sample. Over sixty-five percent of the rural sample was Protestant but only forty-seven percent of the urban sample was Protestant. Other religious groups were almost equally represented in both the urban and rural groups.

While religious preference showed little relationship to score on the right wing extremism scale, activity in church membership was very closely related as we discussed in Chapter Three.

TABLE 4-11

RELATING RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE⁵ TO SCORE ON THE

RIGHT WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| Score | Protestant | Fundaman- talist | Orthodox | Catholic | Jewish | Other | No Religion | No Answer |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|------------|------------|---------|----------------|--------------|
| Lower Quartile | 24.5 (49) | 16.0 (4) | 20.6 (7) | 17.9 (15) | 38.5 (5) | 0 | 36.8 (7) | 45.5 (5) |
| Second Quartile | 29.5 (59) | 20.0 (5) | 26.5 (9) | 14.3 (12) | 23.1 (3) | 0 | 31.6 (6) | 9.1 (1) |
| Third Quartile | 24.0 (48) | 24.0 (6) | 29.4 (10) | 35.7 (30) | 23.1 (3) | 50 (1) | 21.1 (4) | 18.2 (2) |
| Upper Quartile | 22.0 (44) | 40.0 (10) | 23.5 (8) | 32.1 (27) | 15.4 (2) | 50 (1) | 10.5 (2) | 27.3 (3) |
| Totals | 100.0 (200) | 100.0 (25) | 100.0 (34) | 100.0 (84) | 100.0 (13) | 100 (2) | 100.0 (19) | 100.0 (11) |

⁵ Religious Preferences were combined on the following basis:

Protestant -- Presbyterian, United Church, Methodist, Anglican, Non-Denominational, Other Protestant,
Fundamentalist -- Baptist, Lutheran, Nazarene, Pentecostal, Brethren,
Orthodox -- Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, Russian Orthodox,
Catholic -- Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic,
Other -- Sikh, Other.

TABLE 4-12

RELATING RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE TO RURAL-URBAN
DICHOTOMY (percentages)

| | Pro- testant | Fund. | Catholic | Orthodox | Jewish | No Religion | Other |
|-------|-----------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------------|----------|
| Rural | 58 (65.2) | 0 | 21 (23.6) | 7 (7.9) | 0 | 2 (2.2) | 1 (1.1) |
| Urban | 142 (47.5) | 25 (8.4) | 63 (21.1) | 27 (9.0) | 13 (4.3) | 17 (5.7) | 12 (4.0) |
| Total | 200 (51.5) | 25 (6.4) | 84 (21.6) | 34 (8.8) | 13 (3.4) | 19 (4.9) | 13 (3.4) |

(10) Ethnic Origin

There was little relationship between ethnic origin and score on the right wing extremism scale as is indicated in Table 4-13.

TABLE 4-13

RELATING ETHNIC ORIGIN⁶ TO SCORE ON THE RIGHT
WING EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| | Anglo- Saxon | North European | Slavic- Baltic | Other |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Lower Quartile | 22.4 (38) | 20.3 (14) | 28.3 (32) | 22.2 (8) |
| Second Quartile | 24.7 (42) | 29.0 (20) | 20.4 (23) | 27.8 (10) |
| Third Quartile | 27.1 (46) | 27.5 (19) | 29.2 (33) | 16.7 (6) |
| Upper Quartile | 25.9 (44) | 23.2 (16) | 22.1 (25) | 33.3 (12) |
| Total | 100.0 (170) | 100.0 (69) | 100.0 (113) | 100.0 (36) |

⁶ Individuals were grouped into Ethnic categories on the following basis: Anglo-Saxon -- Anglo-Saxon; North European -- French, Swiss, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Italian, German, Greek, Austrian, Swedish, European, Central European; Slavic-Baltic -- East European, Slavic, Baltic, Russian, Ukranian, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Estonian, Yugoslavian, Czechoslovakian; Other -- Jewish, Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese, Canadian, American, Other, No Answer.

Forty-four percent of the respondents were of Anglo-Saxon descent, twenty-nine percent of Slavic-Baltic descent, and eighteen percent of North European descent. Once again, obvious differences became apparent between the rural and urban society. Table 4-14 breaks the sample into a rural-urban dichotomy, showing the higher proportion of pharmacists of Anglo-Saxon descent and lower proportion of Slavic-Baltic descent in rural communities compared to the urban area.

TABLE 4-14
RELATING ETHNIC ORIGIN TO RURAL-URBAN
DICHOTOMY (percentages)

| | Anglo-Saxon | North European | Slavic-Baltic | Other |
|--------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|
| Rural | 58.4 (52) | 15.7 (14) | 20.2 (18) | 5.6 (5) |
| Urban | 39.5 (118) | 18.4 (55) | 31.8 (95) | 10.3 (31) |
| Totals | 43.8 (170) | 17.8 (69) | 29.1 (113) | 9.3 (36) |

These differences in ethnic composition between rural and urban communities become even sharper with the comparison of rural owners and urban owners. Urban owners have the highest representation of pharmacists of Slavic-Baltic descendency and lowest representation of pharmacists of Anglo-Saxon descendency of any of the urban groups. Table 4-15 illustrates this difference.

TABLE 4-15
RELATING ETHNIC ORIGIN TO OWNERSHIP
(percentages)

| | Anglo- Saxon | North European | Slavic- Baltic | Jewish | Other |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|
| Rural Owners | 64.8 (46) | 14.1 (10) | 18.3 (13) | 0 | 2.8 (2) |
| Urban Owners | 33.8 (26) | 15.6 (12) | 35.1 (27) | 11.9 (9) | 3.9 (3) |

(11) Size of Home Community

Over fifty percent of the total sample were raised in a small town environment having a population of between zero and ten thousand people. Thirty-four percent came from cities with populations greater than one hundred thousand people. Only seven percent came from small cities with populations between ten thousand and one hundred thousand people, and only six percent were raised on farms. This can be explained by the prevalence of small towns throughout the prairie provinces and the close proximity of the sample area to the large cities of Edmonton and Calgary.

Those from small towns had similar scores on the right wing extremism scale to those from large cities. Forty-four percent of those with a farm background scored in the top quartile of the right wing extremism scale while only twenty-three percent of the others scored in this quartile. This finding is consistent with Whyte's⁷ that those with farm backgrounds were most likely to have internalized

⁷ W. F. Whyte, op. cit.

the norms and values which we have suggested to be the basis of the nineteenth century business ideology, no longer completely relevant with the changing structure of modern society. Table 4-16 relates size of home community to score on the right wing extremism scale.

TABLE 4-16

RELATING SIZE OF HOME COMMUNITY TO SCORE ON THE RIGHT WING
EXTREMISM SCALE (percentages)

| | Farm | Small Town | Small City | Big City |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Lower Quartile | 3.7 (1) | 23.8 (48) | 26.7 (8) | 27.1 (35) |
| Second Quartile | 25.9 (7) | 23.8 (48) | 33.3 (10) | 23.3 (30) |
| Third Quartile | 25.9 (7) | 28.2 (57) | 16.7 (5) | 27.1 (35) |
| Upper Quartile | 44.4 (12) | 24.3 (49) | 23.3 (7) | 22.5 (29) |
| Total | 100.0 (27) | 100.0 (202) | 100.0 (30) | 100.0 (129) |

Chi Square 12.21 with 9 degrees of freedom
Significant at .20 level

While only six percent of the sample was raised on a farm, over ninety-five percent of those who were raised on a farm fell into the rural owner category. Only one respondent of the 267 urban pharmacists claimed a farm background. Table 4-17 breaks down the five groups according to their home communities.

TABLE 4-17
ANALYSIS OF SIZE OF HOME COMMUNITY
(percentages)

| | Farm | Small Town | Small City | Big City |
|------------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Rural Owner | 29.6 (21) | 45.1 (32) | 5.6 (4) | 19.7 (14) |
| Urban Owner | 0 | 59.7 (46) | 5.2 (4) | 35.1 (27) |
| Urban Mgr. | 1.7 (1) | 58.6 (34) | 6.9 (4) | 32.8 (19) |
| Urban Emp. (N-B) | 0 | 53.1 (51) | 9.4 (9) | 37.5 (36) |
| Urban Emp. (B) | 0 | 43.1 (28) | 10.8 (7) | 46.2 (30) |
| Totals | 6.0 (22) | 52.0 (191) | 7.6 (28) | 34.3 (126) |

(12) Education

In Chapter Three Education was discarded as an important extraneous variable because of the contaminating effect of age. There was a strong relationship between education and score on the right wing extremism scale as indicated in Table 4-18.

From Table 4-18 it is apparent that those graduating from the two year diploma-apprenticeship program scored relatively high on the right wing extramism scale, as seventy-four percent fell in the upper two quartiles. Those graduating with a university degree (B. Sc. or equivalent) were evenly distributed among all quartiles.

Table 4-19 was constructed to provide a breakdown of education on the basis of the five major groups.

Table 4-19 exhibits the same basic grouping pattern developed with the variables sex and age. Both owner groups show identical distributions, both employee groups have identical distributions, and the manager group is at some point between the two poles. Approximately

21% of the owners have a two-year diploma while around 6% of the employees have the diploma. Twelve percent of the managers have the diploma. All others have a B. Sc. in Pharmacy or its equivalent. As explained earlier, the age factor has a significant contaminating effect on education qualifications.

TABLE 4-18
RELATING EDUCATION TO SCORE ON THE RIGHT WING EXTREMISM
SCALE (percentages)

| | Diploma | Degree |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Lower Quartile | 14.0 (7) | 25.1 (85) |
| Second Quartile | 12.0 (6) | 26.3 (89) |
| Third Quartile | 44.0 (22) | 24.3 (82) |
| Upper Quartile | 30.0 (15) | 24.3 (82) |
| Chi Square 12.84 with 3 degrees of freedom Significant at .01 level | | |

TABLE 4-19
ANALYSIS OF EDUCATION (percentages)

| Educa- tion | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees (N-B) | Urban Employees (B) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Diploma | 21.2 (15) | 22.1 (17) | 12.1 (7) | 6.3 (6) | 6.2 (4) |
| B. Sc. | | | | | |
| Degree | 78.9 (56) | 77.9 (60) | 87.9 (51) | 93.7 (90) | 93.8 (61) |
| Total | 100.0 (71) | 100.0 (77) | 100.0 (58) | 100.0 (96) | 100.0 (65) |
| Chi-Square 15.956 with 4 degrees of freedom Significant at .01 | | | | | |

This chapter has presented a summary of many of the demographic variables collected in the sample survey, in an attempt to provide a more detailed description of the five groups under consideration. In concluding this chapter perhaps it would be useful to develop a composite picture of each of the groups, emphasizing differences which distinguish one group from the other.

The typical rural owner is likely to be male, a member of a coordinated buying group, older than any other respondents, and with a greater chance of not having a university education. Rural owners are more likely to have had a father trained in a profession than any of the other respondents. Rural owners are more likely to vote Progressive Conservative in either provincial or federal elections, are likely to be of Anglo-Saxon descent and be Protestant in religious preference. While most rural owners were raised in a small town environment, a significant portion (30%) have a farm background. In contrast, no other group had any significant number of members with a farm background. Rural owners are likely to be active church members.

Urban owners exhibited similar characteristics to rural owners in terms of age, education, and sex. They differ from rural owners in the following ways: they are less likely to be members of a coordinated buying group; their father was more likely to have been a white collar worker than a professional; they have less preference for the Progressive Conservative party in either provincial or federal elections; they have lower gross sales; they are less likely to have a Protestant religious preference. At least as many were of Slavic-Baltic ethnic origin as were of Anglo-Saxon origin. None of the urban

owners came from a farm, most being from a small town, but with over one-third coming from a large city.

Most significant differences between rural and urban owners were in size of home community, ethnic origin, religion, father's occupation, and gross sales.

Much greater differences were apparent between the owner group as a whole and the manager-employee groups. Significant differences in sex, education, and age were discussed in the previous chapter.

Besides being younger, with university educations, and more likely female, members of these groups were less active church members and not likely to have been raised on a farm.

Compared to the other respondents, urban managers were most likely to have a father employed in a blue collar occupation, and least likely to have had one who was trained in a profession. Urban managers are supporters of the Conservative party in federal politics and favor the Social Credit and Conservative parties in provincial politics.

Urban employees are the least active church members, are the youngest, most highly educated, with over fifty percent of them being female. Primarily from a white collar background they support the federal Liberal party and the provincial Social Credit party. Urban employees are more likely than any of the other respondents to have come from a large city, although most come from a small town.

In order to summarize many of the differences among the group Table 4-20 was prepared. From Table 4-20 it is apparent that differences do exist among groups, differences which may directly or

indirectly have had some effect on an individual's attitudes and ideology. While some of the variables appear to be related to score on the right wing extremism scale, many of them are not related in any type of direct linear relationship. Because of the complex nature of the interrelationship of components which do make up an individual's attitudes, it is not possible for us to discard any of the variables as potential intervening variables in the measurement of a right wing extremist ideology.

TABLE 4-20

SUMMARY OF VARIABLES RELATED TO FIVE MAJOR GROUPS

| Variables | Rural Owners | Urban Owners | Urban Managers | Urban Employees Small | Urban Employees Large |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Member Coordinated Buying Group | 90% Yes | 53% Yes | | | |
| Age* | Median 40-49 | Median 40-49 | Median 30-39 | Median 21-29 | Median 21-29 |
| Education* | 79% Degree | 78% Degree | 88% Degree | 94% Degree | 94% Degree |
| Active Church Member* | 60% Active | 42% Active | 33% Active | 26% Active | 25% Active |
| Father's Occupation | 30% Professional | 38% White Collar | 32% Blue Collar | 32% White Collar | 35% White Collar |
| Federal Voting | 48% Conservative | 32% Conservative | 47% Conservative | 41% Liberal | 48% Liberal |
| Provincial Voting | 34% Conservative | 30% Social Credit | 35% Social Credit | 30% Social Credit | 29% Social Credit |
| Sex* | 92% Male | 95% Male | 76% Male | 54% Male | 26% Male |
| Gross Sales | Median 150,000-300,000 | Median 100,000-149,999 | -- | -- | -- |
| Religion | 68% Protestant | 40% Protestant | 55% Protestant | 43% Protestant | 57% Protestant |
| Ethnic Origin | 65% Anglo-Saxon | 35% Slavic-Baltic | 38% Anglo-Saxon | 41% Anglo-Saxon | 45% Anglo-Saxon |
| Size of Home Community | 45% Small Town 30% Farm | 60% Small Town 35% Big City | 59% Small Town 33% Big City | 54% Small Town 38% Big City | 43% Small Town 46% Big City |

*These variables were found to be significantly related to score on the right wing extremism scale.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

I GENERAL DISCUSSION

There has been little empirical evidence reported in the literature to allow adequate exploration of the theoretical discussions relating small businessmen to right wing extremist political ideologies. This scarcity of empirical evidence provided the rationale for the examination of the relationships between small businessmen and right wing extremism. By dividing the sample into several groups we were able to measure in greater specificity the interrelationships among the independent variables; rural-urban environment, organizational role, and bureaucratic structure.

The theoretical concepts of the "mass society" and "economic" interpretations of right wing extremism were presented at the outset. Although our purpose was to look at the specific effects of the independent variables rather than substantiate either concept "per se", the "mass society" approach has often been approximated in terms of an individual's access to a large bureaucratic organization.¹ Similarly the "economic" approach has been approximated in terms of ownership of risk capital in an organization.

Many of the attitudes espoused by the Extreme Right appear similar to those of a rural society (and have often been referred to as a nineteenth century agrarian ideology). To test this hypothesis

¹ See J. L. Nelson, "Anomie: Comparisons Between the Old and New Middle Class," op. cit.

the effect of rural environment on right wing extremist attitudes was included in the study as a third independent variable. On this basis the groups upon which the analysis would center were selected as described in Chapter Two.

If organizational role, bureaucratic structure and rural-urban environment each contributed to an individual's susceptibility to right wing extremism, then the results should be as hypothesized. Cumulative differences among the five groups representing the three independent variables supported the hypotheses in terms of direction. Further analysis, controlling for possible extraneous influences of age, sex, and activity in church membership made the initial relationships appear tenuous. It became apparent that sex and activity in church membership were important extraneous variables and had significant effects on the hypothesized relationships. Among both active church members and male respondents the independent variables (rural-urban environment, organizational role, and bureaucratic structure) had no measurable effect on right wing extremist ideology. Only for those respondents who were either female or inactive church members did the original relationships hold. The influence of age as an extraneous variable was unclear as no consistent relationships could be determined. Age did have a disruptive effect on the initial relationship in some situations.

Most of the empirical research in this field has considered only male respondents. Since our data measuring the responses of males only showed no relationship between the independent and dependent variables we must accept the null hypotheses that there are no differences among the groups (male respondents only) in terms of score on the

right wing extremism scale. Thus ruralism, organizational role, and bureaucratic structure had little effect on how male respondents scored on the right wing extremism scale. A similar conclusion was reached with those respondents who were active church members.

Such findings are in direct conflict with those of Trow. His study, composed exclusively of male respondents, found that McCarthy received disproportionately strong support from small businessmen and relatively little support from salaried employees with the same education. No such disproportionate support for a right wing extremist ideology was apparent in our study after sex, organizational role, bureaucratic structure and rural-urban environment were controlled.

At this point the question of income must be considered. Nelson² was able to report differences in alienation between owners and managers only in depressed economic circumstances. He found little relationship between alienation and either ownership or bureaucratic affiliation at income levels greater than \$7000 per annum. The sample group used in this survey consisted entirely of professional pharmacists. Annual incomes of pharmacists in Alberta in 1969 as provided by the Alberta Pharmaceutical Association are presented in Table 5-1.

From Table 5-1 it is apparent that virtually all pharmacists have incomes in excess of \$7000 per annum. Only those in small villages earn lower average incomes. The combined average income of all pharmacists in Alberta is \$8645 per annum.

² Ibid.

TABLE 5-1
ALBERTA PHARMACEUTICAL ASSOCIATION
1969 SURVEY
PROFESSIONAL AND NON-PROFESSIONAL REMUNERATION

| | Number of Pharmacists | Professional Hours Worked Per Week | Annual Salary 1969 |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Type of Pharmacy | | | |
| Professional | 2.3 | 43.2 | 8,322 |
| Neighborhood Store | 1.6 | 51.0 | 8,515 |
| Downtown Store | 1.7 | 47.5 | 9,529 |
| Combined Average | 1.7 | 48.6 | 8,645 |
| Location of Pharmacy | | | |
| Edmonton | 1.9 | 45.7 | 8,573 |
| Calgary | 1.7 | 47.6 | 8,567 |
| Other Cities | 2.0 | 46.4 | 8,998 |
| Town | 1.4 | 51.6 | 9,015 |
| Village | .9 | 62.7 | 6,667 |
| Combined Average | 1.7 | 48.6 | 8,645 |

Starting salaries for pharmacy graduates from Canadian universities averaged \$8520 per annum for the 1970 graduating class.³ Salaries offered to pharmacy graduates at the University of Alberta in 1970 were reported to average around \$7800 per annum.⁴ No differences were reported between male and female graduates in general salary

³ This information was provided by the Canada Manpower branch on the University of Alberta Campus.

⁴ Ibid.

levels. Situations which involved excessive night work or managerial experience were usually offered only to males.

Thus, after income level is considered, the results from this study concur with those provided by Nelson. We are able to conclude that those who are male exhibit no significant differences in terms of score on the right wing extremism scale which can be attributed to ruralism, organizational role, or bureaucratic structure. The nature of the sample group allows the application of this conclusion to only those with incomes in excess of \$7000 per annum.

This conclusion tends to emphasize the significance of the other findings. For females and inactive church members income had no effect. Even with those at income levels in excess of \$7000 per annum there are significant differences in scores on the right wing extremism scale which can be attributed to the cumulative effects of ruralism, organizational role, and bureaucratic structure.

Perhaps the most detailed discussion of the socio-economic factors relating small businessmen to political ideology was completed by Rogers and Berg. Although no data was provided, they discussed the relationship in terms of many different variables, emphasizing the differences rather than the similarities among small businessmen. One of the intentions of our study was to provide empirical evidence to measure the strength of many of these relationships. This we feel has been done. Results reported in Chapters Three and Four support many of Rogers' and Berg's conclusions.

Our results cast some doubt on the universal applicability of both the "mass society" and "economic" interpretations of right wing extremism. Our links with either theory (bureaucratic affiliation as

an operationalization of the "mass society" approach and owner-manager-employee role as the operationalization of the "economic" approach) were never intended to be concise tests of the theories themselves. Nevertheless it was felt that the research design did provide an adequate approximation of the conditions developed in each approach. There was no relationship between either bureaucratic affiliation or owner-manager-employee role and score on the right wing extremism scale for male respondents.

There may be several reasons for the absence of any positive relationships. Perhaps the selection of a professional group tended to negate the affect of bureaucratic affiliation. If the professional organization displaces the bureaucratic organization in providing a strong secondary group association, then the membership in a bureaucratic organization variable (which we have been measuring) may have a minimal effect on how a respondent would score on the right wing extremism scale. If this is true then we were not able to measure the effects of the variables of social interaction which form the basis of the mass society approach since all respondents are members of the same professional organization. In this situation however, we would be able to say that bureaucratic affiliations had little effect on a professional sample in influencing right wing extremist ideology.

We have previously discussed the effect that income level had in displacing any effect which could be attributed to "economic" causes.

A third alternative used in explaining the absence of any positive relationships is simply that there are no relationships. Perhaps Canadian value systems are significantly different from those in

the United States so that the empirical results from American research has no validity in the Canadian setting. This, despite the fact that all theories relating small businessmen to right wing extremism are based on all western societies, rather than merely American society. Perhaps Canadian values towards such things as centralized government, labor unions, and government intervention in the free enterprise system are not sharpened to the point where right wing extremism becomes a factor. It is apparent that further research is necessary before the reason for the rejection of the theories explaining right wing extremism is known.

II CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

A particularly interesting finding in this study is that political ideology is strongly related to sex. To date there has been very little empirical research which examines the role of the female in the business community. With increasingly powerful trends towards increased female participation in the business community the role of the female "businessman" is likely to become more important in the coming years. These changes make it much more relevant to discover the exact nature of the differences which appear to be manifest in the business community, relating to sex.

Most of the empirical research examining the relationship between small businessmen and right wing extremism has been done in the United States. It would be interesting to undertake a comparative analysis of responses in both Canada and the United States. Only after the comparison of Canadian and American value systems will it become clear if American results are applicable to the Canadian

situation.

The choice of a professional group as the sample group has given no certain benefits in terms of variables which were assumed to be held constant which have been discussed earlier. There is however, a tradeoff in the selection of such a homogeneous group. We have not been able to measure the effects of any of the variables which were assumed to have been held constant in the selection of the professional group. We have already shown how the effects of income limit the applicability of the results. A further study making use of businessmen of various socio-economic levels would allow measurement of the effects of many of the variables assumed to have been held constant in this study. In this manner a more comprehensive collection of empirical data will be made available for future consideration.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I
DIRECTIONS

READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY AND UNDERLINE THE PHRASE THAT BEST EXPRESSES YOUR FEELING ABOUT THE STATEMENT. WORK RAPIDLY. BE SURE TO ANSWER EVERY ITEM. DO NOT PLACE YOUR NAME ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. IT IS CONFIDENTIAL AND ANONYMOUS.

1. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT INCREASING TAXES TO PROVIDE IMPROVED CITY SERVICES?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

2. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT SPENDING MORE MONEY ON SPECIAL EDUCATION?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

3. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT INCREASING TAXES TO PROVIDE PUBLIC KINDERGARTENS?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

4. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT ANNEXATION TO THE CITY OF SUBURBAN AREAS?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

5. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT URBAN RENEWAL?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

6. THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM IS ONE OF THE WORST "TAX AND SPEND" ENTERPRISES YET DEvised BY GOVERNMENT PLANNERS.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM REPRESENTS INTERFERENCE AND REGIMENTATION BY GOVERNMENT.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. IN URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMS, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HELPS THE LOCAL COMMUNITY.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. URBAN RENEWAL IS A MUCH NEEDED PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY BETTERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM WILL MAKE THE COMMUNITY A BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

11. THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE NOT TEACHING THE FUNDAMENTALS AS WELL AS THEY USED TO.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

12. NOWADAYS CHILDREN GET PAMPERED TOO MUCH IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

13. THERE IS TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON COOPERATION IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND NOT ENOUGH EMPHASIS ON COMPETITION.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

14. PUBLIC SCHOOLS CHANGE TOO MANY CHILDREN AWAY FROM THEIR PARENTS' IDEAS.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

15. THE GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WHITE AND INDIAN CHILDREN GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

16. IF INDIANS ARE NOT GETTING FAIR TREATMENT IN JOBS AND HOUSING, THE GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEY DO.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

17. POLITICIANS SPEND MOST OF THEIR TIME GETTING RE-ELECTED OR RE-APPOINTED.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

18. PEOPLE ARE VERY FREQUENTLY MANIPULATED BY POLITICIANS.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

19. MOST POLITICIANS IN THE COMMUNITY ARE PROBABLY MORE INTERESTED IN GETTING KNOWN THAN IN SERVING THE NEEDS OF THEIR CONSTITUENTS.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

20. THE GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO HELP PEOPLE GET DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL CARE AT LOW COST.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

21. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT LABOR UNIONS IN ALBERTA?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

22. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT PUBLIC HOUSING?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

23. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT CITY-OWNED PARKING LOTS?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

24. A MUNICIPAL POWER SYSTEM IS A FORM OF SOCIALISM.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

25. THE FEDERAL PROGRAM OF REGIONAL SUBSIDIES IS ONE OF THE BEST POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO A REGION'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

26. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD LEAVE THINGS LIKE ELECTRIC POWER AND HOUSING FOR PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN TO HANDLE.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

27. THE GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA OUGHT TO SEE TO IT THAT EVERYBODY WHO WANTS TO WORK CAN FIND A JOB.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

28. IF CITIES AND TOWNS AROUND THE COUNTRY NEED HELP TO BUILD MORE SCHOOLS, THE GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA OUGHT TO GIVE THEM THE MONEY THEY NEED.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

29. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT FLUORIDATION OF THE COMMUNITY'S WATER SUPPLY?

Strongly Approve Approve Undecided Disapprove Strongly Disapprove

YOU HAVE COMPLETED PART I. PLEASE GO ON TO PART II. PART II IS A REQUEST FOR GENERAL INFORMATION. ALL RESPONSES REMAIN ANONYMOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL.

PART IIGENERAL INFORMATION (CHECK ONE ANSWER PER QUESTION)

1. TYPE OF DRUG OUTLET

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| (a) National Chain | _____ | (c) Independent Retailer | _____ |
| (b) Hospital or Dispensary | _____ | (d) Small Local Chain | _____ |
| | | (e) Other _____ | |
| | | (please specify) | |

2. A. STATUS

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| (a) Owner-Manager | _____ | (b) Manager | _____ | (c) Employee | _____ |
|-------------------|-------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------|

B. IF OWNER-MANAGER:

How long have you owned a drug store?

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| 0-5 years | _____ | 16-20 years | _____ |
| 6-10 years | _____ | 21-25 years | _____ |
| 11-15 years | _____ | over 25 years | _____ |

C. IF OWNER-MANAGER:

How long have you been established in this community as a drug-store owner-manager?

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| 0-5 years | _____ | 16-20 years | _____ |
| 6-10 years | _____ | 21-25 years | _____ |
| 11-15 years | _____ | over 25 years | _____ |

3. TOTAL NUMBER OF PHARMACISTS IN DRUG OUTLET (insert amount).

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Full Time | _____ | Part Time | _____ |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|

4. TOTAL NUMBER OF NON-PHARMACISTS EMPLOYED IN OUTLET.

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Full Time | _____ | Part Time | _____ |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|

5. AGENCIES

Rexall _____ IDA _____ ARP _____ None _____

Other _____
(please specify)

6. AGE OF RESPONDENT

(a) 21-20 _____ (d) 59-59 _____

(b) 30-39 _____ (e) 60+ _____

(c) 40-49 _____

7. PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION

University Degree _____ Diploma _____

8. A. WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION OR CHURCH PREFERENCE?

Protestant (answer B also) _____ Other _____
(please specify)

Roman Catholic _____ None _____

Jewish _____ Don't Know _____

Greek Orthodox _____

B. IF PROTESTANT, PLEASE COMPLETE:

Presbyterian _____ Methodist _____

Lutheran _____ Other _____
(please specify)

Baptist _____

United Church _____ Don't Know _____

C. WOULD YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF AN ACTIVE CHURCH MEMBER?

Yes _____ No _____

9. WHAT TYPE OF WORK DID YOUR FATHER DO WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP?

- (a) Professional, Technical (Architect, Teacher, Artist) _____
- (b) Manager, Official (Buyers, Union Officials, Credit Mgr.) _____
- (c) Proprietor _____
- (d) Clerical (Bank Teller, Bookkeeper, Mail Carrier) _____
- (e) Sales (Insurance Agent, Salesman) _____
- (f) Craftsmen, Foremen (Baker, Electrician, Tailor) _____
- (g) Operative (Equipment Operators) _____
- (h) Service Worker (Barber, Policeman, Fireman) _____
- (i) Farmer _____
- (j) Laborer _____
- (k) Other _____

10. WHERE DID YOUR FAMILY (FATHER'S SIDE) ORIGINALLY COME FROM?

- | | | | |
|---------------|-------|------------------|-------|
| Great Britain | _____ | Italy | _____ |
| Ireland | _____ | Hungary | _____ |
| United States | _____ | Ukraine | _____ |
| France | _____ | China | _____ |
| Germany | _____ | Other _____ | |
| | | (please specify) | |

11. DURING THE FIRST 18 YEARS OF YOUR LIFE, DID YOU LIVE MOSTLY:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| (a) On a farm | _____ | (c) In a small city | _____ |
| (b) In a small town | _____ | (d) In a big city or its suburbs | _____ |

12. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WHICH PARTY DO YOU USUALLY VOTE FOR IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS?

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| Conservative | _____ | Social Credit | _____ |
| Liberal | _____ | No Preference | _____ |
| N.D.P. | _____ | | |

13. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WHAT PARTY DO YOU USUALLY VOTE FOR IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS?

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| Conservative | _____ | Social Credit | _____ |
| Liberal | _____ | No Preference | _____ |
| N.D.P. | _____ | | |

14. A. SEX

| | | | |
|------|-------|--------|-------|
| Male | _____ | Female | _____ |
|------|-------|--------|-------|

B. MARITAL STATUS _____

15. SIZE OF COMMUNITY WHERE OUTLET IS LOCATED:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| (a) Under 500 | _____ | (f) 4,000 to 9,999 | _____ |
| (b) 500 to 999 | _____ | (g) 10,000 to 19,999 | _____ |
| (c) 1,000 to 1,499 | _____ | (h) 20,000 to 49,999 | _____ |
| (d) 1,500 to 1,999 | _____ | (i) 50,000 and over | _____ |
| (e) 2,000 to 3,999 | _____ | | |

16. NUMBER OF COMPETITIVE DRUG OUTLETS IN SAME VILLAGE, TOWN, OR CITY. _____

17. GROSS SALES _____

THIS COMPLETES THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

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